HANDBOOK FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS

HAND BOOK

FOR

AMERICAN CITIZENS;

OR,

THINGS EVERY PATRIOT SHOULD KNOW.



BY

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Author of "Ancient and Mediæval Republics."

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PREFACE.

The object in issuing this manual is to place in the hands of the citizen a weapon which will arm him for the performance of his duties and the defence of his rights. The information herein contained has been carefully compiled from trustworthy sources. It is not specially intended for the theorist; it deals with the Republic as it has been and as it is, and with the Constitution and laws as they are, and not as this or that dreamer thinks that they ought to be. If knowledge is power, then the citizen who reads and studies this book will have power—power to do his part intelligently in upholding the institutions whose establishment has cost so much, and on whose permanence the happiness of mankind may depend. The Old Flag appears all the dearer and more glorious the more we study the history which it represents, and the rights and privileges won for us by the men who bore it through the storms of many a battlefield. The American who fails to acquaint himself with the origin and character of American institutions, and with his own rights and obligations as a citizen and a sovereign is lacking in loyalty to his country, to his home and to himself.

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Part I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NATION.

Character of the Colonists.

To comprehend with intelligence the rights and obligations of citizenship, and the political conditions under which we live, it is necessary to glance back to the origin of American institutions. The American Republic did not spring into being suddenly, like Minerva from the brain of Jove. The origin of our nation and of its fundamental laws must be sought far back in the ages. Their root was in that English middle class, removed alike from noble and from serf, which retained and cultivated throughout every vicissitude of civil and religious revolution the sturdy and homely virtues of their ancestry. The spirit which enabled the founders of these States to overcome every obstacle which English jealousy and savage hostility could place in their way, was the spirit which our Germanic ancestors displayed when they battled for their liberties under Arminius; it was the spirit of the barons at Runnymede and of the seamen who confronted the Armada. The men who fashioned the rude beginnings of American nationality were chiefly Englishmen of the seventeenth century, untainted by the corruption of the court, deeply imbued with religious sentiment and with a high esteem for secular learning, in which indeed many of them were thoroughly proficient. While they loved freedom they detested anarchy, and had the strongest respect even for the technicalities of law.

Much has been said of the religious intolerance which some of the early settlers—especially the Puritans—displayed toward dissenters from the religious creed of the majority. As to this it ought to be sufficient to state that the Puritan colonies did not invite promiscuous immigration any more than a religious community of the present day throws open its doors to strangers irrespective of their religious belief. The Puritan communities were intended for Puritans only, and all others were trespassers. That this was the Puritan view was shown by the declaration of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, to the effect that the Quakers who had been put to death, when they returned after banishment from the colony, were guilty of suicide. Of course, in this enlightened age, such an explanation appears grotesquely inadequate, but it shows that the Puritans were not cruel for cruelty's sake. They had sailed thousands of miles to worship God in their own way, without intrusion or molestation, and they resented molestation after the fashion of the century in which they lived. If their course was tyrannical, it was tyranny very different in degree from that of the persecutors in England, who drove Englishmen from their homes because they would not conform to the established creed. However the early settlers of New England were not all averse to religious liberty. Rhode Island gave a lively example of order combined with complete freedom of conscience, no member of the community founded by Roger Williams and his associates being under any compulsion whatever as to the profession or practice of religion.

It should be remembered that other religious elements, beside Puritan and Pilgrim, had their part in the early settlements—the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Huguenots in South Carolina and the Roman Catholics in Maryland. Some attempt has been made to claim for the last-mentioned the

credit which really belongs to the founders of Rhode Island, of making religious freedom an original feature of their colonial laws. The obvious fact is that in the condition of English feeling at that time toward the Pope and his spiritual subjects, Roman Catholics would not have been permitted to persecute Protestants on any soil subject to the English crown, and in addition the so-called toleration in Maryland was not toleration at all, as compared with the complete liberty which prevailed in Rhode Island; the Maryland statutes providing, for instance, that any person speaking disrespectfully of the mother of Christ should have the tongue bored with a red-hot iron. The Maryland claim to precedence over New England in recognizing the rights of conscience will not stand the test of impartial examination. That torch was lighted on the shores of Narragansett, not Chesapeake Bay.

The religious element did not enter largely into the settlement of colonies other than those already named. The thrifty Dutch intended to use New Amsterdam for a trading post; the Virginia colonists were adventurers, and Carolina was designed to be the field of an absurd scheme of government, conceived in the brain of Locke. The object of William Penn in settling Pennsylvania was more humanitarian than religious, and at the same time not unmingled with a desire for personal aggrandizement.

The American colonists were Englishmen, and had no desire for or thought of political separation from the mother country. Of course I include in this designation the Dutch, the German, the Swedish, French and any other alien settlers who were politically absorbed by the English. The colonists considered themselves entitled to all of an Englishman's rights and privileges, and those of New England were earnest and even aggressive in asserting their rights. The influence of New

England upon the destinies of Old England was already apparent, while the generation which landed at Plymouth and Boston remained in its prime. The sympathy between the exiled dissenters and their brethren at home was warm and energetic, and it might be said that the first English Revolution—the uprising of the English middle class against the tyranny of King and Church—had its blowpipe in Massachusetts. Nevertheless the feeling of the colonists, down to the period of the Revolution, was always loyal and friendly toward the British connection, and even in Massachusetts there was very little public expression of disloyalty. Looking over the newspapers of the earlier years in the latter half of the eighteenth century, I have been surprised to note the adulatory language used regarding the king and crown of Great Britain. It is clear that only the gravest oppression could have driven the colonists to sever the ties which bound them to England, and that but for the madness which possessed George III. and his advisers the colonies would have remained a part of the British empire.

It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that the American Revolution had its conception in a desire for absolute independence. The colonists simply resisted the withdrawal and denial of rights which belonged to them as British subjects. The Revolution had been in progress for some time before it became a war for independence. At first it was only armed resistance to oppression. General Washington, when he commanded at Cambridge, regarded his own forces as in once sense British, and spoke of his antagonists as "the ministerial troops." Even then George III., by timely and reasonable concessions, might have saved America for Great Britain, and it is to be noted that, when the time came to declare independence, some who had been most earnest patriots up to that limit, refused to cast their lot with their countrymen.

Becoming a Nation.

When the colonies threw off the British yoke, the change was accompanied by no local changes of serious moment. Each colony already had its local government, the chief of which was either appointed by the king, as in New York, or elected by the colonists themselves, as in Rhode Island. The machinery of local government was perfect in itself, and sufficiently democratic to be readily adapted to the new conditions. The colony became a State, with a legislature and officials substantially as before, but no longer acknowledging allegiance to the crown of Great Britain. This state of affairs was in one sense a great help and in another a great hindrance to the cause of independence. The local machinery of government proceeding without clash or disorder, was useful in organizing support for the general cause, and in proving to the people that the royal guardianship had not been necessary to their welfare—that it had been potent only for evil. On the other hand the division of power among so many different States, each a centre of authority and jealous of its recently acquired sovereignty, tended to hamper and embarrass the military arm of the nation. Had the first French Republic been divided into as many States as there were provinces in old France, instead of being directed by that relentless and terrible Convention, it could surely not have presented the fierce and successful resistance to embattled Europe which it did present. In the late Southern Confederacy, notwithstanding that it was founded on the cardinal doctrine of State's Rights, the central government at Richmond soon saw that the recognition of State sovereignty was incompatible with effective and concentrated military effort, and the Confederacy became a military despotism, the State governments retaining only the shadow of power. Had Washington not been

possessed of nearly superhuman fortitude and discretion, the jealousy and selfishness of the confederated States might have defeated the cause which he carried to a providential conclusion.

Beginning of the Union.

The American Union had its beginning on Monday, the fifth of September, 1774, when there assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, a number of men who had been chosen and appointed by the several colonies in North America to hold a Congress for the purpose of discussing the grievances imputed against the mother-country. This Congress resolved on the next day that each colony should have one vote only. On Tuesday, the second of July, 1776, the Congress resolved, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States," etc., etc.; and on Thursday, the fourth of July, the whole Declaration of Independence having been agreed upon, it was publicly read to the people. Shortly after, on the ninth of September, it was resolved that the words "United Colonies" should be no longer used, and that the "United States of America" should thenceforward be the style and title of the Union. On Saturday, the fifteenth of November, 1777, "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union of the United States of America" were agreed to by the State delegates, subject to the ratification of the State Legislatures severally. Eight of the States ratified these articles on the ninth of July, 1778; one on the twenty-first of July; one on the twenty-fourth of July; one on the twenty-sixth of November of the same year; one on the twenty-second of February, 1779; and the last one on the first of March, 1781. Here was a bond of union between thirteen independent States, whose delegates in Congress legislated for

the general welfare, and executed certain powers, so far as they were permitted by the articles aforesaid.

As the Articles of Confederation were preceded by the Declaration of Independence, that—the greatest document of human origin since the beginning of the world—should be given first. It is as follows:

Declaration of Independence.

IN CONGRESS—THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1776.

AGREEABLY to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had agreed to a declaration, which they desired him to report. (The committee consisted of Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams, Sherman and R. R. Livingston.)

The Declaration being read, was agrecd to, as follows:

A Declaration

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed:

that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary

government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our

common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right to do. And, for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

Rhode Island.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York.

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey.

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

Massachusetts Bay.

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Delaware.

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

Maryland.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
JAMES CARROLL, of Carrollton.

Virginia.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JUN.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina.

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

South Carolina.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, JUN.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

The Articles of Confederation were adopted by Congress about two years after the Declaration of Independence, and were intended to bind the States together for an effective prosecution of the war, as well as to insure their perpetual union for the common welfare and defence. The independence of the United States had been acknowledged by

France in the beginning of the year, and the American cause had been made more hopeful by Washington's victory at Monmouth. Although commonly known as Articles of Confederation, it should be kept in mind that their full designation, as already stated, was "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." They were as follows:

IN CONGRESS, July 8, 1778.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION

Between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

Art. 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "*The United States of America.*"

Art. 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

Art. 3. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

Art. 4. § 1. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different states in this union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers—vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted—shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided, that such restrictions shall

not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state, to any other state, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States, or either of them.

§ 2. If any person, guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon the demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.

§ 3. Full faith and credit shall be given, in each of these states, to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

Art. 5. § 1. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates; or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

§ 2. No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years, in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or any other for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument, of any kind.

§ 3. Each state shall maintain its own delegate in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of these states.

§ 4. In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

§ 5. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments during the time of their going to and from, and attend-

ance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Art. 6. § 1. No state, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or state, nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

§ 2. No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

§ 3. No state shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

§ 4. No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such state, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state, in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

§ 5. No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by

some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted, nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

Art. 7. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

Art. 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states, in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

Art. 9. § 1. The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article, of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided

that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever; of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

§ 2. The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be com-

missioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress, for the security of the parties concerned: provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward." Provided, also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

§ 3. All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdiction, as they may respect such lands, and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

§ 4. The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own

authority, or by that of the respective states; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post offices from one state to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

§ 5. The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated, "*A Committee of the States*," and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half-year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall

march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

§ 6. The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

§ 7. The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state, on any question, shall be entered on the

journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

Art. 10. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine states, in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

Art. 11. Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union: But no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

Art. 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

Art. 13. Every state shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, in all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the legislature of every state.

And whereas it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, Know ye, that we, the undersigned del-

egates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, in all questions which by the said confederation are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent, and that the union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Congress.

Done at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, the 9th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

New Hampshire.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
JOHN WENTWORTH, JUN.

Massachusetts Bay.

JOHN HANCOCK,
SAMUEL ADAMS,
ELBRIDGE GERRY,
FRANCIS DANA,
JAMES LOVEL.
SAMUEL HOLTEN.

Rhode Island, &c.

WILLIAM ELLERY,
HENRY MARCHANT,
JOHN COLLINS.

Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
OLIVER WOLCOTT,
TITUS HOSMER,
ANDREW ADAMS.

New York.

JAMES DUANE,
FRA. LEWIS,
WILLIAM DUER,
GOUV. MORRIS.

New Jersey.

JNO. WITHERSPOON,
NATH. SCUDDER.

Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS,
DANIEL ROBERDEAU,
JONA BAYARD SMITH,
WILLIAM CLINGAN,
JOSEPH REED.

Delaware.

THOMAS M'KEAN,
JOHN DICKINSON,
NICHOLAS VAN DYKE

Maryland.

JOHN HANSON,
DANIEL CARROLL.

Virginia.

RICHARD HENRY LEE,
JOHN BANISTER,
THOMAS ADAMS,
JNO. HARVIE,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

North Carolina.

JOHN PENN,
CONS. HARNETT,
JNO. WILLIAMS.

South Carolina.

HENRY LAURENS,
WM. HENRY DRAYTON,
JNO. MATTHEWS,
RICHARD HUTSON,
THOS. HEYWARD, JUN.

Georgia.

JNO. WALTON,
EDWARD TELFAIR,
EDWARD LANGWORTHY.

WASHINGTON RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION.

It is not the purpose of this book to follow the American Revolution throughout its ever memorable course of struggle, of triumph, of midnight darkness and glorious sunburst. With the conclusion of the war we come to another declaration which should be kept ever present in the minds of Americans—Washington's speech on resigning his commission. Washington took leave of his officers and army at New York, and repaired to Annapolis, Md., where Congress was then in session. On the 20th of December, 1783, he transmitted a letter to that body, apprising them of his arrival, with the intention of resigning his commission, and desiring to know whether it would be most agreeable to receive it in writing or at an audience. It was immediately resolved that a public entertainment be given him on the 22d, and that he be admitted to an audience on the 23d, at twelve o'clock. Accordingly he attended at that time, and, being seated, the President informed him that Congress was prepared to receive his communications. Whereupon he arose, and spoke as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT: The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have

now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence: a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible that the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to His holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

Demand for a Constitution.

It became apparent in a very few years that the Articles of Confederation were not sufficient to secure the establishment of a powerful and united government that could command order at home and respect abroad. The bond of union rested loosely on the several states, and ambitious men did not hesitate to imperil that bond, frail as it was, in the pursuit of their selfish aims. Great Britain affected to regard the discordant Americans with contempt, and it is said that the English king even began to entertain a hope that the time would come when Americans, weary of their experiment, would again seek shelter under the British flag. Sagacious men everywhere throughout the country saw the necessity for a Constitution that would create a nation in fact as well as in name. Chief Justice Story said of the government under the Articles of Confederation: "There was an utter want of all coercive authority to carry into effect its own constitutional measures. This of itself was sufficient to destroy its whole efficiency as a superintendent government, if that may be called a government which possessed no one solid attribute of power. In truth Congress possessed only the power of recommendation. Congress had no power to exact obedience, or punish disobedience of its ordinances; they could neither impose fines, nor direct imprisonments, nor divest privileges, nor declare forfeitures, nor suspend refractory officers. There was no power to exercise force."

On the 21st of February, 1787, Congress adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas there is provision in the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union for making alterations therein by the assent of a Congress of the United States, and of the legislatures of the several states; and, whereas, experience hath evinced that there are defects in the present Con-

federation, as a mean to remedy which several of the states, and particularly the state of New York, by express instructions to their delegates in Congress, have suggested a Convention for the purposes expressed in the following resolution, and such Convention appearing to be the most probable mean of establishing in these states a firm national government—

"Resolved, That in the opinion of Congress it is expedient that on the second Monday in May next, a convention of delegates who shall have been appointed by the several states, be held at Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein, as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the states, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union."

The day appointed by this resolution was the second Monday in May; but the 25th of that month was the first day upon which a sufficient number of members appeared to constitute a representation of a majority of the states. They then elected George Washington their President, and proceeded to business. On the 17th of September, 1787, the Constitution was adopted by the Convention, and subsequently ratified by Conventions of the several states, as follows:

By Convention of	Delaware, . . .	7th December, 1787.
" "	Pennsylvania, .	12th December, 1787.
" "	New Jersey, . .	18th December, 1787.
" "	Georgia, ...	2d January, 1788.
" "	Connecticut, . . .	9th January, 1788.
" "	Massachusetts, . .	6th February, 1788.
" "	Maryland, ...	28th April, 1788.
" "	South Carolina, . . .	23d May, 1788.
" "	New Hampshire, . .	21st June, 1788.
" "	Virginia, ...	26th June, 1788.

By Convention of New York, ... 26th July, 1788.
" " North Carolina, 21st November, 1789.
" " Rhode Island, . . . 29th May, 1790.

Following is the Constitution of the United States, with the amendments, and the date of their adoption:

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.*

[PREAMBLE.]

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

[THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.]

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

* This is an exact copy of the original in punctuation, spelling, capitals, etc.,—in all respects except the words and figures which are enclosed in brackets, and the reference marks.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other Persons.* The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other officers;† and shall have the sole power of Impeachment.

SEC. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be

* "Other persons" refers to slaves. See Amendments, Art. XIV, Sections 1 and 2.

† The principal of these are the clerk, sergeant-at-arms; doorkeeper, and postmaster.

chosen every second year; and if Vacancies nappen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President, pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and Disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of Honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SEC. 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SEC. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and

a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one-fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation* for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SEC. 7. All bills for raising Revenue shall originate in

*The present compensation is $5,000 a year, and an allowance of 20 cents for every mile of travel to and from the national capital.

the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to the House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of Both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have Power.

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization,* and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right† to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers,

* The Naturalization laws require a foreigner to be in the country five years before he is entitled to citizenship.

† An Author obtains a copyright by application to the Librarian of Congress, and it is secured for twenty-eight years.

An Inventor secures a patent from the Patent Office, at Washington, for a certain number of years, prescribed by the Commissioner of Patents.

and the Authority of training the Militia according to the Discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, Dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SEC. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or Duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another; nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and

Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SEC. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of Delay.

ARTICLE II.

[THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.]

SEC. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to

the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

* The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote: a Quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

* This clause has been superseded by the 12th Amendment.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully exe-
"cute the Office of President of the United States, and will
"to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend
"the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nomi-

nate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SEC. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

[THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.]

SECTION 1. The Judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their Services, a

Compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in Office.

SEC. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SEC. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

[MISCELLANEOUS.]

SECTION 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SEC. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

SEC. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion, and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive

(when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States shall be the Supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of Nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. IN WITNESS whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G° WASHINGTON—
Presid't and deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

NEW YORK.
Alexander Hamilton

NEW JERSEY.
Wil Livingston
Wm Paterson
David Brearley
Jona Dayton

PENNSYLVANIA.
B Franklin
Robt Morris
Tho Fitzsimons
James Wilson
Thomas Mifflin
Geo Clymer
Jared Ingersoll

MASSACHUSETTS.
Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King
Gouv Morris

DELAWARE.
Geor Read
John Dickinson
Jaco Broom
Gunning Bedford Jun
Richard Bassett

MARYLAND.
James M'Henry
Danl Carrol
Dan of St Thos Jenifer

VIRGINIA.
John Blair

CONNECTICUT.
Wm Saml Johnson
Roger Sherman
James Madison Jr

NORTH CAROLINA.
Wm Blount
Hu Williamson
Richard Dobbs Spaight

SOUTH CAROLINA.	GEORGIA.
J Rutledge	William Few
Charles Pinckney	Abr Baldwin
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney	
Pierce Butler	

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

ARTICLES

IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF,

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the Several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

Article V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have Compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Article VII.

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X.*

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Article XI.†

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Article XII.‡

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transfer sealed to the seat of the government of the United States directed to the President of the

* The first ten amendments were proposed at the first session of the first Congress (1789), and declared adopted in 1791.

† The eleventh amendment was proposed at the first session of the third Congress (1794), and declared adopted in 1798.

‡ This article is substituted for Clause 3, Sec. I., Art. II., page 317, and annuls it. It was declared adopted in 1804.

Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

Article XIII.*

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

* The thirteenth amendment was proposed at the second session of the thirty-eighth Congress (1865), and declared adopted in 1865.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.*

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall

* The fourteenth amendment was first proposed at the first session of the thirty-ninth Congress, 1866, and declared adopted in 1868.

have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.*

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Washington was elected the First President, and inaugurated, April 30, 1789, at New York city, which was then the seat of the Federal government. After two terms as Chief Magistrate, during which he succeeded in making the authority of the United States obeyed and respected everywhere throughout the Union, while he also rebuked the

* The fifteenth amendment was proposed at the second session of the fortieth Congress, in 1869, and declared adopted in 1870.

attempts of France to encroach on the rights of the American people, President Washington retired to private life. His Farewell Address will ever hold a place in American memories, as the final and invaluable public utterance of him who was indeed the Father of Our Country.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence, in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign

nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes—perhaps still more in the eyes of others—has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me, more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amidst appearances sometimes

dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—

the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest: here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in UNION, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but

which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation, in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western: whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unani-

mous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general Government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi, they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties —that with Great Britain, and that with Spain—which secure to them everything they could desire in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all time, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems, is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of Government; but the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government, pre-

supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive to this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying, afterward, the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and

opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes, in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party

are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosities of one part against another; foments, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of Government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into

different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free Governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can, at any time, yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular Government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance,

institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Provi-

dence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place, of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection; either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to

retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray, or sacrifice the interest of their own country, without odium; sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, toward a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be

engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things;

diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinions will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay, with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations; but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to

my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest, for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature in its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright

zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart—and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *17th September, 1796.*

PART II.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

NOT A PART OF NATIONAL LAW.

The Monroe Doctrine, so-called, is not a part of the national law. The people and government of the United States are in no sense committed to its enforcement; yet it undoubtedly has a strong hold upon American sentiment, and the American people would regard with disfavor any failure to maintain the principle therein embodied. James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, was a cautious and prudent statesman as well as a courageous soldier. Throughout the war between Spain and her revolted colonies in South America, he maintained a strict neutrality. In his message to Congress in December, 1819, President Monroe said that "the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality; our ports have been equally open to both parties, and our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering with either to the prejudice of the other." On the 8th of March, 1822, President Monroe communicated to Congress a message in which, after noticing the progress of the war in South America, he stated that "when we regard the great length of time this war has been prosecuted, the complete success which has attended it in favor of the provinces, the present condition of the parties, and the utter inability of Spain to produce any change in it, we are compelled to conclude that its fate is settled, and that the provinces which have declared their independence are in the enjoyment of it and ought to be recognized." This message and the accompanying

documents were referred to a committee, which made a long report, recommending the recognition of the independence of the Mexican and South American Republics. Congress adopted the report, and not long afterward ministers were appointed to Colombia, Mexico and Buenos Ayres. This introductory statement is necessary, as it is sometimes sought to convey the impression that the Monroe Doctrine was a fulmination against foreign rule in America, and was influential in securing South American independence. As a matter of fact the South Americans had gained their independence before President Monroe gave utterance to his famous "doctrine," in a subsequent message of December 2, 1823.

The words of the memorable declaration constitute two paragraphs of the message. In the first of these paragraphs President Monroe declares that the governments of Russia and Great Britain have been informed that the American continents henceforth are not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European powers. In the second paragraph he says that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of the European powers to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. He goes further and says that if two governments established in North or South America who have declared their independence of European control should be interfered with by any European power, this interference would be regarded as the manifestation of unfriendly disposition to the United States. These utterances were addressed especially to Spain and Portugal. The two passages of the message are as follows:

Text of the Monroe Doctrine.

"At the proposal of the Russian imperial government, made through the minister of the emperor residing here, full power and instructions have been transmitted to the

minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by his imperial majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

Minister Anderson at Bogota.

On the 9th of December, 1823, the seventh day after the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated at Washington, Mr. Anderson, minister of the United

States to Colombia, delivered his credentials to the government at Bogota, being the first minister received from any foreign power outside of Spanish America. Mr. Anderson's address on that occasion may no doubt be regarded as reflecting the views of, if not directly dictated by President Monroe, and is of interest in connection with the President's celebrated message. He said:

"Mr. President: The President of the United States, animated by an ardent wish to continue the relations of perfect harmony and generous friendship between our respective countries, has commanded me to give the most satisfactory expression to the liberal feelings which he, as well as the people of the United States, must ever entertain toward the institutions of freedom in every country. I tender to you his anxious wishes for the restoration of peace to this republic, and prosperity to its citizens. My own admiration of the liberal institutions of Colombia, and of the glorious manner in which they have been created and sustained, affords the surest pledge of the sincerity of my sentiments. If this mission shall have the happy effect of giving solidity and duration to the harmonious feelings of our countrymen, it will be a source of unaffected joy to every friend of free government.

"It is on this continent, and in this age, Mr. President, that man has been awakened to the long lost truth, that, under Heaven, he is capable of governing himself; that God has not given to him in vain the part and intellect of a human being. Every motive that can operate on a good man, urges him to cherish the institutions founded on the development of these truths, and to nourish the principles which can alone sustain them. The sublimest spectacle that we can enjoy, is to contemplate our fellow man explaining and teaching, by reason and argument, the truth, that '*voluntary agreement is the only legitimate source of political power.*' When a nation is penetrated with this truth, its liberty is placed beyond the reach of force or fraud.

"Under such governments, we may fondly hope to see

the people of this continent devoted only to those acts which give comfort and enjoyment to domestic life, and the highest polish to intellectual improvement. It has long, indeed, been the doctrine of despots, that the arts of peace are too limited to fill the employments of man; and their sincerity, in this doctrine, has been manifested by the slaughter of millions. Let it, then, be the high duty of those who guide the destinies of the American republics, by abstaining from every hostile collision, to demonstrate the falsehood of a principle so mortifying to good men, and consolatory only to tyrants. Time has not yet, indeed, permitted us to see, in its full extent, the effect which the principles of government evolved on the American continent, may have on the habits or practices of man; but enough has already been disclosed to cheer the friends of peace, and to animate them to new vigilance in cherishing those principles, which, abjuring war and blood-shed, lead only to peace.

"In conclusion, let me say, that, while the establishment of this republic gives to the world a most brilliant example of the triumph of valor and of virtue, so may it continue to succeeding generations, an illustrious monument of the omnipotence of truth and a good cause."

The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine.

While the Monroe Doctrine was of no assistance to the people of South America in obtaining their independence, it was undoubtedly of great and immediate influence in preventing the destruction of republican government in South America by the allied powers of Europe. One of the chief objects of "the Holy Alliance," formed upon the overthrow of Napoleon for the purpose of readjusting the map of Europe, was to quench forever the torch of liberty lighted at the fires of the French revolution. It is an interesting fact, which has escaped the historical attention due to it, that no royal house

was more anxious to see free institutions overthrown in America than the miserable House of Bourbon, replaced by foreign bayonets on the throne of France, and ever fearful that the French people might again be aroused to cast off the degenerate and odious dynasty thus reimposed upon them. The cabinet of Louis XVIII. attempted by intrigue and artifice to establish in the United Provinces—now known as Argentina—a monarchy under a European prince related to the Bourbons. The prince selected was the Duke of Lucca, and it was proposed that France should furnish the necessary land and naval forces to support the new king on his throne, and that the Duke should marry a princess of Brazil. The congress of the United Provinces was actually induced to consent to this proposal, on the condition that France should supply troops, ships and money for the maintenance of the monarchy, and that Brazil should make certain territorial concessions. The people, however, had more virtue than their rulers, and although driven to hard straits in resisting Spain, they refused to barter their liberties to France. The scheme fell through, and those who had favored it were treated with indignation and contempt. There is no doubt that the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine put a quietus for the time being upon European intrigue against the South American republics. These intrigues were, however, promptly revived as the United States became involved in civil war, and European dynasties were once more animated with the hope that the one republic in America whose power they feared and whose prowess they had been taught by severe experience to respect was on the brink of destruction. The story of Maximilian needs not to be recalled by this generation. Suffice it to say that never was a capital sentence inflicted more justly than in the case of that Austrian prince, and never was a more wholesome lesson administered to the

royalties of Europe. Any European prince who should volunteer now for a mission similar to that of Maximilian would doubtless be looked upon by his relatives as a fit subject for medical examination as to his sanity.

How Seward Enforced The Monroe Doctrine.

In a dispatch to the French minister, February 12, 1866, relating to the presence of the French in Mexico, Secretary of State William H. Seward delivered the following practical interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, as applied to one of the independent republics of this continent:

"The United States have not seen any satisfactory evidence that the people of Mexico have spoken, and have called into being, or accepted, the so-called empire, which it is insisted has been set up in their capital. The withdrawal of the French forces is deemed necessary to allow such a proceeding to be taken by Mexico. Of course the Emperor of France is entitled to determine the aspect in which the Mexican situation ought to be regarded by him. Nevertheless the view which I have thus presented is the one which this nation has accepted. It therefore recognizes, and must continue to recognize in Mexico only the ancient republic; and it can in no case consent to involve itself, either directly or indirectly, in relation with or recognition of the institution of the Prince Maximilian in Mexico. Under these circumstances it has happened, either rightfully or wrongfully, that the presence of European armies in Mexico, maintaining a European prince with imperial attributes, without her consent and against her will, is deemed a source of apprehension and danger, not alone to the United States, but also to all the independent and sovereign republican States founded on the

American continent and its adjacent islands. * * * The United States rest content with submitting to France the exigencies of an embarrassing situation in Mexico, and expressing the hope that France may find some manner which shall at once be consistent with her interest and honor, and with the principles and interest of the United States, to relieve that situation without injurious delay."

When the Emperor Napoleon, several months after this clear and courteous statement of the policy of the United States had been transmitted, still sought to postpone the withdrawal of the French troops, Mr. Seward sent the following ultimatum:

"The Emperor's decision to modify the existing arrangement without any understanding with the United States, so as to leave the whole French army in Mexico for the present, instead of withdrawing one detachment in November current, as promised, is now found in every way inconvenient and exceptionable. We cannot acquiesce, first, because the term 'next spring,' as appointed for the entire evacuation, is indefinite and vague; and, second, because we have no authority for stating to Congress and to the American people that we have now a better guarantee for the withdrawal of the whole expeditionary force in the spring than we have heretofore had for the withdrawal of a part in November; third, in full reliance upon at least a literal performance of the Emperor's existing agreement, we have taken measures, while facilitating the anticipated French evacuation, to cooperate with the republican government of Mexico for promoting the pacification of that country, and for the early and complete restoration of the constitutional authority of that government. The President sincerely hopes and expects that the evacuation of Mexico will be carried into effect with such conformity to the existing agreement as the inopportune complication which calls for this dispatch shall allow. Instructions will be issued

to the United States military forces of observation to await in every case special directions from the President. This will be done with a confident expectation that the telegraph or the mail may seasonably bring us a satisfactory resolution from the Emperor in reply to this note."

In November, 1866, the United States appointed a minister, accredited to the republican government of Mexico. Our minister was advised as follows:

"There are some principles which may be safely laid down in regard to the policy which the government will expect you to pursue. The first of these is that, as a representative of the United States, you are accredited to the republican government of Mexico, of which Mr. Juarez is President. Your communications, as such representative, will be made to him, wheresoever he may be; and in no event will you officially recognize the Prince Maximilian, who claims to be Emperor, or any other person, chief, or combination as exercising the executive authority in Mexico, without having first reported to this department. * * * It may possibly happen that the President of the Republic of Mexico may desire the good offices of the United States, or even some effective proceedings on our part, to favor and advance the pacification of a country so long distracted by foreign combined with civil war, and thus gain time for the re-establishment of national authority upon principles consistent with a republican and domestic system of government. It is possible, moreover, that some disposition might be made of the land and naval forces of the United States, without interfering within the jurisdiction of Mexico, or violating the laws of neutrality, which would be useful in favoring the restoration of law, order and republican government in that country. The Lieutenant-General of the United States Army possesses already discretionary authority as to the location of the forces of the United States in the vicinity of Mexico. His military experience will enable him to advise you

concerning such questions us may arise during the transition stage of Mexico from a state of military siege by a foreign enemy to a condition of practical self-government. At the same time it will be in his power, being near the scene of action, to issue any orders which may be expedient or necessary for maintaining the obligations resting upon the United States in regard to proceedings upon the borders of Mexico. For these reasons he has been requested and instructed by the President to proceed with you to your destination, and act with you as an adviser, recognized by this department, in regard to the matters which have been herein discussed."

The Emperor Napoleon did not wait for the United States to take hostile action. The French troops were withdrawn, and Maximilian's empire fell like a house of cards.

The Monroe Doctrine To-day.

Notwithstanding the lesson of Mexico, Europe has not given up the idea of controlling American destinies, and the Monroe doctrine does not apply only to attempts to impose monarchical institutions on free American States. Only two or three years ago the Marquis of Lorne, son in-law to the Queen of Great Britain, of Canada, and I may add also, of British Guiana, proposed that England and Germany should establish a protectorate over the Argentine Republic. Such was the statement published to the world, and I have never seen it denied. It is safe to say that Lorne probably reflected the views of Windsor, if not of Downing street. The enemies of the republican government in Brazil were, according to published reports, "financed" in their attempted revolution by British capitalists, whose loans were to be repaid on the restoration of the empire. The Brazilian rebels were certainly supported in the most rabid manner

by the London *Times* and other English newspapers. For years England gave encouragement and patronage to a burlesque monarchy on the eastern coast of Nicaragua, and recently exacted a heavy fine from that republic, ostensibly for injury to British subjects, but really as a punishment for extending Nicaraguan authority over England's proteges on the Mosquito coast. England's encroachment on Venezuela is at present under consideration by the American Government. The Monroe doctrine stands for a principle as vital to the welfare of the American people and of the American continent to-day as when it was first proclaimed in the face of the conquerors of Napoleon.

Part III.

THE SLAVERY ISSUE.

Antagonism Between North and South.

While the slavery issue is generally regarded as the chief cause of the antagonism between North and South which resulted in the greatest of modern wars, yet that antagonism appears to have existed, of course in a less embittered form, even before the Revolution. The Puritans of New England took a different side from the planters of Virginia in the struggle between Cavaliers and Roundheads, and the social, religious and political distinctions which existed between the two classes in England did not lose any of their acerbity in America. The two sections made common cause in the Revolution, but even during that struggle mutual jealousy and dislike occasionally cropped out. General Washington, when in command at Boston, was accused by the members of the General Court of being cold in his manner toward them, and as Washington denied the charge of incivility, it seems plain that the New England legislators must have had their imaginations stimulated by distrust. Count Axel Fersen, the distinguished Swedish nobleman who was attached to the American army during the Revolution, and who may be regarded as an impartial witness, made some excursions in Virginia after the capture of Yorktown, and entered the following observations in his memoirs: "All the traders here are regarded as inferior to the land owners, who say that the former are not gentlemen, and will not associate with them. They hold aristocratic principles, and when one sees them, one can hardly understand how they have

come to join the general confederation and accept a government founded upon conditions of absolute equality. But the same spirit which has led them to throw off the English yoke might well urge them on to other measures, and I should not be surprised to see Virginia, when peace comes, detach itself from the other States." Thus Count Fersen foretold secession even before independence had been achieved.

Beginning of Negro Slavery.

Negro slavery had been introduced into the West India Islands long before the Dutch ship, in 1619, sailed up the James River and landed twenty Africans. The fact should be noted that, two years after this event, cotton-seed was, for the first time, planted at the South, for the growth of slavery and the culture of the cotton plant were closely connected. Tobacco was already (in 1621) very extensively grown, and was then produced entirely by slave labor. For several years, only a few cargoes of negroes were brought to the colonies, and these came in Dutch ships; but, encouraged by the English, companies for carrying on the trade were formed, and even ships built and owned in New England were engaged in the business. In the course of time every one of the thirteen colonies had slaves. Some of the colonies remonstrated against the trade; but what could this avail so long as the English Government favored the trade, and the king himself profited by the gains? In 1750 there were about two thousand slaves in Massachusetts; in New York city about a sixth of the population were slaves; in the tobacco-growing colonies—Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina—a third were slaves; in South Carolina, where rice was the principal production, there were more slaves than free persons.

The Continental Congress, after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, resolved that no more slaves should be imported; but the Constitution of the United States, which went into operation thirteen years later, permitted such importation until the year 1808. Thenceforth no more slaves could be brought into the country. Previous to the adoption of the Constitution, Congress passed an act which is commonly known as the "Ordinance of 1787." This prohibited slavery in all the territory northwest of the Ohio River. Massachusetts was the first State to abolish slavery; then the other Northern States, one after another, most of them by a system of gradual emancipation, followed the example. Though no more slaves were brought to the country, slaves continued to be bought and sold at the South as before.

Slave-labor at the North was not profitable, owing to the cold climate, which did not agree with the African as well as the sunny temperature of the South. Yet slavery could never have flourished in the South but for the cotton-gin. The plantations were languishing and cotton could be cultivated only in small quantities, because it was difficult to separate the fibre from the seed. At this time, Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, went to Georgia and invented the cotton-gin. The difficulty of separating the cotton from the seed was removed. The invention set the whole South in motion. Not a pound of cotton had been exported from the United States in 1792. In 1793, the gin was invented. In 1794 one million five hundred thousand pounds of cotton were sent to Europe, and slave-labor was immediately in demand.

The Missouri Compromise.

The difference between the two sections became more clearly defined, as slavery disappeared from

the North and increased in the South. When Missouri applied for admission into the Union it was proposed in Congress to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the new State. This had the effect of arraying the South against the North—the slave-holding against the non slave-holding States—and the whole subject of slavery became an exciting topic of debate throughout the country. The question was disposed of by a compromise which tolerated slavery in Missouri, but otherwise prohibited it in all the territory of the United States, north and west of the northern limits of Arkansas. The section of the bill containing the compromise was as follows:

SEC. 8. That in all the territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited; provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any state or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

THE WILMOT PROVISO.

This agreement, the "Missouri Compromise," was observed for a third of a century; still the slavery question cropped out from time to time, "abolition societies" became numerous, and when Texas, a slave State and a former province of Mexico, asked to be admitted into the Union, the application, though stoutly resisted by most of the Northern members of Congress, was finally

granted. The annexation of Texas led to a war with Mexico, and this resulted in the cession to the United States of a large part of the Mexican territory. As slavery in Mexico had been nominally abolished more than twenty years, the territory thus acquired was "free soil." I say "nominally abolished," for serfdom in the form of peonage survived in Mexico, and to-day the condition of the lower class of agriculturists in that country is but little removed from bondage to the proprietors of the soil. In anticipation of the acquisition, Mr. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, for himself and other members of Congress from the free States, offered an amendment to the bill providing for the purchase of Mexican territory to the effect "that as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in any part of said territory." This proviso—the "Wilmot proviso," as it was afterward called—passed the House, but not the Senate.

Though the "Wilmot proviso" did not meet with complete success in Congress, it became the foundation-stone of the "Free Soilers," whose party cry in 1848, with ex-President Van Buren as their Presidential candidate, was "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." The Free Soilers were defeated, but their cause survived, and took on fresh life as the opposition to slavery grew. The very measures adopted to make slavery impregnable became factors in its overthrow. California, a part of the territory acquired from Mexico, soon had a large population, and the people, who were generally opposed to slavery, sought admission to the Union. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, and other champions of slavery, resisted the application, and a violent controversy followed, which ended in an agreement known as the "Compromise of 1850."

Compromise of 1850.

Under this compromise California was admitted as a free State, the slave trade—but not slavery—was abolished in the District of Columbia, and the Fugitive Slave Law was enacted. As this measure was one of the chief agencies in exciting the North against slavery, and is often alluded to, even to this day, in political discussions, it is here given in full:

The Fugitive Slave Law.

An Act to amend, and supplementary to, the Act entitled "An Act respecting Fugitives from Justice, and persons escaping from the Service of their Masters," approved February 12, 1793.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the persons who have been, or may hereafter be, appointed Commissioners, in virtue of any Act of Congress, by the Circuit Courts of the United States, and who, in consequence of such appointment, are authorized to exercise the powers that any justice of the peace, or other magistrate of any of the United States, may exercise in respect to offenders for any crime or offence against the United States, by arresting, imprisoning, or bailing the same, under and by virtue of the thirty-third section of the act of the twenty-fourth of September, seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, entitled "An Act to establish the judicial courts of the United States," shall be, and are hereby, authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this Act.

Sec. 2. That the Superior Court of each organized territory of the United States shall have the same power to appoint Commissioners to take acknowledgments of bail and affidavits, and to take depositions of witnesses in civil causes, which is now possessed by the Circuit

Court of the United States; and all Commissioners who shall hereafter be appointed for such purposes by the Superior Court of any organized territory of the United States, shall possess all the powers, and exercise all the duties, conferred by law upon the Commissioners appointed by the Circuit Courts of the United States for similar purposes, and shall moreover exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this Act.

SEC. 3. That the Circuit Courts of the United States, and the Superior Courts of each organized territory of the United States shall from time to time charge the number of Commissioners with a view to afford reasonable facilities to reclaim fugitives from labor, and to the prompt discharge of the duties imposed by this Act.

SEC. 4. That the Commissioners above named shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the Judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, in their respective circuits and districts within the several States, and the Judges of the Superior Courts of the territories severally and collectively, in term-time and vacation; and shall grant certificates to such claimants, upon satisfactory proof being made, with authority to take and remove such fugitives from service or labor, under the restrictions herein contained, to the state or territory from which such persons may have escaped or fled.

SEC. 5. That it shall be the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under the provisions of this act, when to them directed; and should any marshal or deputy marshal refuse to receive such warrant, or other process, when tendered, or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, to the use of such claimant, on the motion of such claimant, by the Circuit or District Court for the district of such marshal; and after arrest of such fugitive, by such marshal or his deputy, or whilst at any time in his custody, under the provisions of this act, should such fugitive escape, whether with or without the assent of such marshal or his deputy, such marshal shall be liable, on his official bond, to be

prosecuted for the benefit of such claimant, for the full value of the service or labor of said fugitive in the state, territory, or district whence he escaped; and the better to enable said Commissioners, when thus appointed, to execute their duties faithfully and efficiently, in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States, and of this Act, they are hereby authorized and empowered, within their counties respectively, to appoint, in writing under their hands, any one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute all such warrants and other process as may be issued by them in the lawful performance of their respective duties; with authority to such Commissioners, or the persons to be appointed by them, to execute process as aforesaid, to summon and call to their aid the bystanders, or *posse comitatus* of the proper county, when necessary to insure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution referred to, in conformity with the provisions of this act; and all good citizens are commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required, as aforesaid, for that purpose; and said warrants shall run, and be executed by said officers, anywhere in the state within which they are issued.

SEC. 6. That when a person held to service or labor in any state or territory of the United States, has heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another state or territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her or their agent or attorney, duly authorized by power of attorney, in writing acknowledged and certified under the seal of some legal officer or Court of the state or territory in which the same may be executed, may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from some one of the Courts, Judges, or Commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district, or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive from service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive where the same can be done without process, and by taking or causing such person to be taken forthwith before such Court, Judge or Commissioner, whose duty it shall be to hear and determine

the case of such claimant in a summary manner; and upon satisfactory proof being made, by deposition or affidavit, in writing, to be taken, and certified by such Court, Judge or Commissioner, or by other satisfactory testimony, duly taken and certified by some Court, Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, or other legal officer authorized to administer an oath and take depositions under the laws of the state or territory from which such person owing service or labor may have escaped, with a certificate of such magistracy, or other authority as aforesaid, with the seal of the proper Court or officer thereto attached, which seal shall be sufficient to establish the competency of the proof, and with proof, also by affidavit, of the identity of the person whose service or labor is claimed to be due as aforesaid, that the person so arrested does in fact owe service or labor to the person or persons claiming him or her, in the state or territory from which such fugitive may have escaped as aforesaid, and that said person escaped, to make out and deliver to said claimant, his or her agent or attorney, a certificate setting forth the substantial facts as to the service or labor due from such fugitive to the claimant, and of his or her escape from the state or territory in which such service or labor was due to the state or territory in which he or she was arrested, with authority to such claimant, or his or her agent or attorney, to use such reasonable force and restraint as may be necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take and remove such fugitive person back to the state or territory whence he or she may have escaped as aforesaid. In no trial or hearing under this Act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence; and the certificates in this and the first [fourth] section mentioned, shall be conclusive of the right of the person or persons in whose favor granted, to remove such fugitive to the state or territory from which he escaped, and shall prevent all molestation of such person or persons by any process issued by any Court, Judge, Magistrate, or other person whomsoever.

SEC. 7. That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his

agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid, or shall rescue or attempt to rescue such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or other person or persons lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested pursuant to the authority herein given anddeclared, or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugutive so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment and conviction before the District Court of the United States, for the district in which such offence may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized territories of the United States, and shall moreover forfeit and pay, by way of civil damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct, the sum of one thousand dollars, for each fugitive so lost as aforesaid, to be recovered by action of debt in any of the District or Territorial Courts aforesaid, within whose jurisdiction the said offence may have been committed.

SEC. 8. That the marshals, their deputies, and the clerks of the said District and Territorial Courts, shall be paid for their services the like fees as may be allowed to them for similar services in other cases; and where such services are rendered exclusively in the arrest, custody, and delivery of the fugitive to the claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or where such supposed fugitive may be discharged out of custody for the want of sufficient proof as aforesaid, then such fees are to be paid in the whole by such claimant, his agent or attorney; and in all cases where the proceedings are before a Commissioner,

he shall be entitled to a fee of ten dollars in full for his services in each case, upon the delivery of the said certificate to the claimant, his or her agent or attorney; or a fee of five dollars in cases where the proof shall not, in the opinion of such Commissioner, warrant such certificate and delivery, inclusive of all services incident to such arrest and examination, to be paid in either case by the claimant, his or her agent or attorney. The person or persons authorized to execute the process to be issued by such Commissioner for the arrest and detention of fugitives from service or labor as aforesaid, shall also be entitled to a fee of five dollars each, for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such Commissioner, as aforesaid, at the instance and request of such claimant, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such Commissioner for such other additional services as may be necessarily performed by him or them; such as attending at the examination, keeping the fugitive in custody, and providing him with food and lodging during his detention, and until the final determination of such Commissioner; and, in general, for performing such other duties as may be required by such claimant, his or her attorney or agent, or Commissioner in the premises. Such fees to be made up in conformity with the fees usually charged by the officers of the courts of justice within the proper district or county, as near as may be practicable, and paid by such claimants, their agents or attorneys, whether such supposed fugitives from service or labor be ordered to be delivered to such claimants by the final determination of such Commissioner or not.

SEC. 9. That, upon affidavit made by the claimant of such fugitive, his agent or attorney, after such certificate has been issued, that he has reason to apprehend that such fugitive will be rescued by force from his or her possession before he can be taken beyond the limits of the State in which the arrest is made, it shall be the duty of the officer making the arrest to retain such fugitive in his custody, and to remove him to the State whence he fled, and there to deliver him to said claimant, his agent or attorney. And to this end the officer aforesaid is hereby

authorized and required to employ so many persons as he may deem necessary to overcome such force, and to retain them in his service so long as circumstances may require. The said officer and his assistants while so employed to receive the same compensation, and to be allowed the same expenses as are now allowed by law for transportation of criminals, to be certified by the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and paid out of the treasury of the United States.

SEC. 10. That when any person held to service or labor in any State or Territory, or in the District of Columbia, shall escape therefrom, the party to whom such service or labor may be due, his, her, or their agent or attorney, may apply to any court of record therein, or judge thereof in vacation, and make satisfactory proof to such court or judge in vacation, of the escape aforesaid, and that the person escaping owed service or labor to such party. Whereupon the court shall cause a record to be made of the matters so proved, and also a general description of the person so escaping, with such convenient certainty as may be; and a transcript of such record, authenticated by the attestation of the clerk and of the seal of the said court, being produced in any other State, Territory or district in which the person so escaping may be found, and being exhibited to any Judge, Commissioner, or other officer authorized by the law of the United States to cause persons escaping from service or labor to be delivered up, shall be held and taken to be full and conclusive evidence of the fact of the escape, and that the service or labor of the person escaping is due to the party in such record mentioned. And upon the production by the said party of other and further evidence if necessary, either oral or by affidavit, in addition to what is contained in the said record of the identity of the person escaping, he or she shall be delivered up to the claimant. And the said Court, Commissioner, Judge, or other person authorized by this Act to grant certificates to claimants of fugitives, shall, upon the production of the record and other evidences aforesaid, grant to such claimant a certificate of his right to take any such person iden-

tified and proved to be owing service or labor as aforesaid, which shall authorize such claimant to seize or arrest and transport such person to the State or Territory from which he escaped: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed as requiring the production of a transcript of such record as evidence as aforesaid. But in its absence the claim shall be heard and determined upon other satisfactory proofs, competent in law.

Approved September 18, 1850.

Instead of quieting the controversy, the "Fugitive Slave Law" only made it more bitter. Four years later the slavery question was revived in Congress by the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Bill, the slave-holding States gaining once more what, for the time being, seemed an advantage.

Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854.

In the Act of 1854, to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the so-called Missouri Compromise was declared null and void, as follows:

Section 14. * * * That the Constitution, and all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the Act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March sixth, eighteen hundred and twenty, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of eighteen hundred and fifty, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way,

subject only to the Constitution of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the Act of March sixth, eighteen hundred and twenty, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting or abolishing slavery.

This repeal of the Missouri Compromise led to tremendous excitement throughout the North. The old political organizations broke up, and the Republican party came into existence, as successor to the Free Soil party. The Democrats and Whigs had been divided within their respective party lines on the slavery issue; but now the Democrats opposed to slavery abandoned their party and joined with the great mass of the Whigs in forming the Republican party which took the field in 1856, with General John C. Fremont, of California, as its standard-bearer for President. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was nominated by the Democrats. In the election which followed, every Southern State voted for Buchanan, except Maryland, which voted for Millard Fillmore, the candidate of the ephemeral "American" organization. Buchanan carried in the North his own State of Pennnsylvania, and the States of New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois and California. Eleven Northern States voted for Fremont. The popular vote was: for Buchanan, 1,838,169; Fremont, 1,341,264; Fillmore, 874,534.

Buchanan's Hope—Lincoln's Prophecy.

In his inaugural address President Buchanan expressed the hope "that the long agitation of the slavery question was approaching its end." Far more prophetic was the declaration of Abraham Lincoln in joint debate with Senator Douglas in Illinois—"I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free. I do not expect

the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South." From the beginning to the end of President Buchanan's term the struggle between freedom and slavery for the control of the territories continued. There was bloodshed in Kansas, and hot and angry debates in Congress. In 1860 Mr. Lincoln was nominated for President by the Republican Convention on a platform of opposition to slavery extension. The Democratic Convention split in twain after a prolonged and bitter controversy at Charleston, S. C. The Southern wing of the party nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and the Northern wing Stephen A. Douglas. The Republicans marched to an easy and certain triumph. Lincoln carried every free State with the exception of New Jersey which divided her electoral votes, Lincoln obtaining four. Breckinridge carried every slave State save four—Virginia, Kentucky, and Maryland voting for John Bell, Conservative Unionist, and Missouri for Douglas.

Secession followed in eleven of the Southern States. While on the part of the North the war was carried on for the preservation of the Union and not for the suppression of slavery, yet the emancipation of the slaves was a foregone conclusion from the first, should the North succeed. The Emancipation Proclamation sent forth by President Lincoln on New Year's Day, 1863, was a war measure, issued in accordance with the President's duty and authority as commander-in-chief, to weaken by every means the forces of the enemy. In effect it was the greatest work of constitutional

reform that ever emanated from the hand of man. It had force, however, only where the Union armies obtained control of territory previously held by the Confederates, and was therefore not in complete effect until the close of the war. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, riveted the abolition of slavery in the Constitution finally and forever.

Following is the Emancipation Proclamation :

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, On the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things the following, to wit :

That on the first day of January in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be thenceforward and forever free, and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom :

That the executive will, on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States :

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as

commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war-measure for repressing said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim for the full period of 100 days from the day of the first above-mentioned order, and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, except the 48 counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence unless in necessary self-defence, and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution, upon military

necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the city of Washington, this 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, and of the Independence of the United States the 87th.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Part IV.

THE TARIFF ISSUE.

As Old as the Union.

The tariff issue has been before the American people ever since the foundation of the Union. The volumes written for and against a tariff for protection would fill a vast library, and both sides remain just as convinced of the soundness of their respective arguments as when the controversy began at the first session of Congress under the Constitution. It has almost ceased to be a question of the encouragement of domestic manufactures—which have mostly grown to adult proportions—and is now a question of the exclusion of foreign manufactures in order that our own may supply the domestic market. The present sentiment of the country is almost universally favorable to a moderately protective tariff. Public opinion in the South has, in this respect, changed greatly since the South began to manufacture its own cotton into cloth, to develop its mines, and subdue its magnificent water power to the service of industry. The American people are not in favor of a tariff so high as to make the American manufacturer independent of the consumer's rights and interests.

It was natural that the South should have opposed a high tariff in the slave-labor period. The South produced raw material, on which no protection was given or desired, and was sure of a market for that material in Europe as well as the United States. The South wanted to buy goods as cheaply as possible with the money received for

cotton and tobacco, and the tariff interfered with freedom to purchase in the cheapest market. Hence the indignation expressed by certain citizens of South Carolina in a petition to their Legislature, protesting against the tariff legislation of 1828, and praying to be saved, if possible, "from the conjoint grasp of usurpation and poverty." Hence the attempt of South Carolina in 1832 to nullify the Tariff Law, and President Jackson's message declaring that the laws of the United States must be obeyed.

While the South regarded the protective system as a grievance and a burden, the North, and especially New England, supported it for manifest reasons. The people of New England made considerable wealth in commerce before losing their commercial precedence, but, notwithstanding the fortunes thus accumulated, New England would have been left in barren plight but for the introduction and establishment of manufactures. Manufactures were to New England what cotton and slaves were to the South. The stony valleys were planted with factory villages, and rivulets, dammed by great embankments, became ponds large enough to turn the wheels of many a busy mill. The New England and other Northern manufacturers strove unceasingly to keep up protective duties and to restrict foreign competition, and, while sometimes subjected to low tariff rates, they were never wholly abandoned by the national legislature.

Tariff Legislation.

The tariff policy of Congress before the late civil war was unsettled and vacillating, the compromise feature, so prominent also in the slavery issue, being ever at the front in dealing with protective duties. The dispute over the tariff of 1828–32 was compromised by agreement upon a bill

introduced by Henry Clay, and providing for a gradual reduction of duties. In 1842 another tariff bill was passed, conferring substantial protection, but in 1846 Congress enacted a measure devoid of protective features, and placing the tariff on a revenue basis. The "Tariff of 1857" placed duties lower than they had been at any time since the virtual beginning of protection after the war of 1812. The tariff of 1857 was not in any narrow sense a partisan measure. The Senators from Massachusetts voted for it as well as the Senators from South Carolina, and it was fondly hoped by leading statesmen of both the Republican and Democratic parties that the interests of the whole country would be harmonized and benefited by the change. The hope proved as illusory as in the case of slavery. Importations were greatly stimulated by the reduction of duties, and when a disastrous panic swept over the country a few months later, the calamity was connected in the popular mind with the stride back toward free-trade conditions.

Up to the time of the civil war, the principle of protection as opposed to the principle of free trade had been the cardinal issue in tariff discussions and changes. The enormous expenses of the war made it necessary to raise revenue by every means which the Constitution permitted, and the "Morrill Tariff"—so called from Senator Lot M. Morrill, of Maine—was enacted, adding largely to the duties on certain imported articles, and imposing duties on many articles that were before exempt. For the time being the South was out of the controversy, and New England had her own way in framing this tariff. It may be mentioned here that the Constitution of the Southern Confederacy prohibited the imposition of any duties except for revenue. The "Morrill Tariff" and other supplementary measures dealing with duties on imports gave high protection to the leading manufacturing industries of the North.

The Tariff After the War.

Owing to the continuous demand for revenue to meet the increased expenses of the Government, fulfill the obligations of the war and maintain the national credit, the tariff issue was in suspense until the national elections of 1880. The South, utterly prostrate and exhausted at the close of the war, was in the mean time rebuilding her shattered homes on the sure foundation of free labor instead of the quicksand of slavery, and her statesmen had problems to deal with which came nearer their hearthstones than that of the tariff. It took the South at least fifteen years to stand forth in fresh vigor and full consciousness of its power and responsibility as a section of the Union, and this recovery of the South was contemporaneous with the recovery of the nation from the financial burdens of the war. Instead of the question being how to raise revenue for national needs, the question was what to do with the surplus revenue. The tariff issue was again forced to the front, therefore, by the logic of the situation. Southern hostility to protection had diminished because the South now needed protection, but the South, as a section, supported tariff reduction both on account of Democratic party traditions, and because the Southern people believed the benefits of the tariff to be disproportionately in favor of Northern manufacturers.

Becomes the Leading Issue.

The Republicans elected General Garfield in 1880 on a platform which declared for maintaining a scale of duties that would continue to protect American industries against foreign competition. The Democrats pronounced in favor of a tariff for revenue with incidental protection. In 1882 Con-

gress appointed a Commission to report upon the expediency of reducing the tariff duties, and a bill was passed, in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, making certain reductions. The national contest of 1884 was fought chiefly on the tariff issue, and the defeat of the Republicans indicated that the nation was prepared for some measure of reform. Mr. Cleveland's message of December, 1887, was devoted exclusively to the subject of the tariff. He characterized the existing tariff laws as "vicious, inequitable and illogical." The Democratic House of Representatives, in accordance with the suggestions contained in the President's Message, passed the "Mills Bill," removing the duty on wool, and intended to reduce the revenue by fully $50,000,000. The Republican Senate offered a substitute repealing the tax on tobacco and reducing the duty on sugar nearly one-half, the estimated reduction under this bill being about $65,000,000. In the national election of 1888 the Democrats had a majority of the popular vote, but a minority of the Electoral College, and the Republicans, notwithstanding their victory, concluded that the demand for a revision of the tariff could not be ignored. The Fifty-second Congress therefore enacted the McKinley Law, which, while it removed the duties on sugar, if not above 16 Dutch standard, and on a number of other articles, added considerably to the duties on woolen manufactures, cotton and silk goods, tin plates and various other articles of general use by consumers. The McKinley Law in effect largely raised, instead of reducing, the tariff rates from the standpoint of the shopping public, while the removal of duty on raw sugar was more than counterbalanced by the duty on refined sugar, which enabled the Sugar Trust to make vast profits out of that article of common table consumption. Two Republican defeats—each of them overwhelming—in 1890 and 1892—seemed to give emphatic

notice that the nation was not satisfied with the McKinley Law. The election of 1892 was contested on the issue of that law, with a complication of labor troubles which weakened the cause of protection.

The Wilson Tariff Law.

The struggle which preceded the enactment of the so-called Wilson Tariff Law, sometimes called the "Wilson-Gorman Tariff" on account of the agency of Senator Gorman of Maryland in making changes in the bill as it came from the House, was one of the most disgraceful in the history of American legislation. The bill passed the House of Representatives without scandal, but it was alleged, when the measure reached the Senate, that wrongful influences had been brought to bear upon Senators to secure their advocacy of continued high protection for refined sugar. An investigation was held, and the committee appointed to make the inquiry reported that no charge had been filed before it that the action of any Senator had been "corruptly or improperly influenced in the consideration of the tariff bill, or that any attempt had been made to so influence legislation." The bill went back to the House retaining free wool as the only original feature of importance, and was received in that body with a burst of indignant protest. Meantime influences were actively at work in the Senate, and there is ground for believing that, had the measure gone back to that body a sufficient number of votes would have been obtained to defeat the measure and leave the McKinley Law in operation. The consummation of this alleged bargain was defeated by the passage of the bill in the House with all the Senate amendments.

The principal differences between the Wilson and McKinley Laws and the tariff of 1883, are indicated by the following table:

TARIFF RATES COMPARED.

Schedule.	Cotton.	Flax.	Wool.	Silk.
New law, per cent *ad valorem*,	41	32	41	46
McKinley tariff,	55	42	99	53
Mills bill,	33	25	40	50
Tariff of 1883,	35	31	67	45

The sugar bounty is abolished, and a duty of forty per cent *ad valorem* imposed upon raw sugar, which before was free, while refined sugar pays one-eighth of a cent a pound and forty per cent, against one-half a cent under the late tariff. Wool, raw hides, and many other articles are duty free. Other differences are apparent in the following statement compiled by the treasury department:

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
China, painted, etc.,	60.00	35.00
Bottles, empty,	70.01	52.63
Bottles, filled,	71.48	53.61
Demijohns, empty,	37.91	28.43
Manufactures of glass,	60.00	35.00
Cylinder glass, polished, unsilvered,	20 to 64	13 to 48
Plate glass, unsilvered, cast, etc.,	98 to 174	88 to 122
Plate glass, cast, silvered, above 24 by 60,	49.39	31.28
Stained or painted window glass,	45.00	35.00
Roofing slate,	25.00	20.00
Iron ore,	42.77	22.27
Iron in pigs, etc.,	36 to 41	15 to 21
Scrap iron,	47.83	28.47
Scrap steel,	43.00	25.59
Bar iron,	25 to 53	16 to 32
Bars of rolled iron,	61.77	44.93
Boiler or other plate iron or steel,	54.00	25.00
Rails of steel,	58.24	33.99

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Sheets of iron or steel, common or black,	25 to 70	20 to 55
Tin plates,	78.44	42.32
Tin, Manufactures of Steel ingots, etc.,	29 to 50	20 to 40
Cast-iron vessels, etc.,	26.97	17.98
Malleable iron castings,	31.83	16.37
Hollowware,	35.33	23.55
Firearms,	41 to 80	30.00
Nails,	23 to 45	26 to 30
Railway fish plates,	72.18	25.00
Hand, back, and other saws,	40.00	25.00
Screws,	47 to 111	33 to 67
Wheels,	83.72	41.86
Plates (rolled), braziers' copper,	35.00	20.00
Gold leaf,	44 87	30 00
Silver leaf,	77.78	30.00
Lead, sheet,	36 65	18.33
Nickel,	23.77	14.26
Pins,	30.00	25.00
Zinc, in sheets,	29.19	14.59
Manufactures of metal,	45.00	35.00
Casks, barrels and boxes,	30.00	20 00
Blocks, wood,	35.00	25.00
Rice, cleaned,	111.85	83.89
Rice, uncleaned,	64.19	41.08
Oranges, lemons and limes,	12 to 31	12 to 32
Spirits, distilled,	91 to 367	65 to 264
Cotton cloths, not over 100 threads, not bleached,	35.17	35.05
Cotton, bleached,	38.60	26.53
Cotton, dyed, colored, etc.,	40.80	30.54
Cotton, exceeding 100 threads, not bleached,	42.39	32.39
Cotton, bleached,	43.27	35.00
Cotton, dyed, etc.,	43.84	38.84
Cables, cordage and twine,	16 to 31	10 to 20
Bagging for cotton,	32.52	Free
Woolen yarns,	278.66	30.00

	Old Rate.	New Rate.
Shawls, woolen, not above forty cents per pound,	136.00	35.00
Blankets,	80 to 104	35.00
Hats of wool,	86 to 107	35.00
Flannels, not over fifty cents per pound,	85 to 104	25 to 35
Silk, partially manufactured,	60.50	20.00
Silk webbings, gros-grains, dress goods, etc.,	50.00	45.00
Writing, drawing and other paper, N. S. P.,	35.00	20.co
Dolls and other toys,	35.00	25.00
Coal, bituminous,	22.72	12.12
Slack, or culm of coal,	28.68	14.34
Coke,	20.00	15.00
Matches,	33.93	20.00
Haircloth, known as crinoline cloth,	27.99	20.99
Haircloth, known as hair seating	23.22	15.48
Leather, bend or belting and sole,	10.00	10 00
Calfskins, japanned,	30.00	20.09
Leather, all not specially provided for,	10.00	10.00
Boots and shoes,	25.00	20.00
Manufactures of India rubber,	30.00	25.00
Composition metal, copper,	6.49	Free
Plates of copper, not rolled,	11.80	Free
Binding twine,	6.47	Free
Paintings in oil or water colors,	15.00	Free
Statuary,	15.00	Free
Hatters' plush,	10.00	Free

Reciprocity.

The Wilson Law also repealed what was known as the "Reciprocity Section" of the McKinley Law, which had been intended especially to gain the trade of Central and South America for the United States. The Reciprocity Section provided that "whenever and so often as the President shall

be satisfied that the government of any country producing and exporting sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, raw or uncured, or any such articles, imposes duties or other exactions upon the agricultural or other products of the United States, which in view of the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides into the United States he may deem to be reciprocally unequal and unreasonable, he shall have the power, and it shall be his duty to suspend by proclamation to that effect the provisions of this act relating to the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides, the production of such country, for such time as he shall deem just, and in such case and during such suspension duties shall be levied, collected and paid upon sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides, the product of, or exported from such designated country as follows," etc. In pursuance of this provision reciprocity treaties had been negotiated with Spain and Brazil, Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, San Domingo, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Great Britain for Jamaica and her other West Indian colonies and British Guiana. The effect of the reciprocity treaty with Spain had been highly favorable, the British consul-general, at Havana, being quoted as saying: "British trade with Cuba has almost become a thing of the past; and under the recent reciprocity treaty the United States of America practically supplies all the wants of the islands and receives all its produce. The effect has been to throw nearly the entire Cuban trade into the hands of the United States traders, with whom importers of goods from less favored nations cannot compete, having to pay by the terms of such a treaty higher import duties." On the passage of the Wilson Law Spain promptly abrogated the treaty, and Brazil soon afterward gave three months' notice of abrogation. All the treaties based on reciprocity have terminated.

PART V.

THE SILVER QUESTION.

DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER.

The silver question is one of the most important before the people of the United States. It is a question which involves the interests not only of the so-called silver States, but of all the Union, and the financial credit of the nation at home and abroad. It has not reached a final solution, and the result of the coming Presidential election may depend upon whether the voters in the silver-mining regions prefer the advocacy of free silver to their accustomed party allegiance.

The first United States Coinage Act was passed in 1792, and authorized the unrestricted mintage of gold and silver at the then prevalent ratio of 1 to 15. One ounce of gold having become, in 1834, equal in commercial value to about 16 ounces of silver, Congress in that year changed the ratio to 1 to 15,988, or practically 1 to 16. While the commercial value of silver has varied considerably since 1834, the legal ratio has remained the same. Congress in 1873 demonetized the silver dollar. This enactment has been and is the subject of so much controversy that it may be well to quote the provisions bearing upon silver demonetization.

"SEC. 14. That the gold coins of the United States shall be a one-dollar piece, which, at the standard weight of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains, shall be the unit of value. [Then follow directions as to other gold coins.]

"SEC. 15. That the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half dollar, or fifty-cent piece, a quarter dollar, or twenty-five cent piece, a dime, or ten-cent piece; and the weight of the trade dollar shall be 420 grains troy; the weight of the half dollar shall be twelve grams and one-half of a gram; the quarter dollar and the dime shall be respectively one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half dollar, and said coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment.

"SEC. 17. That no coins, either of gold, silver or minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards and weights herein set forth."

It is but fair to state that this act was not passed in any stealthy manner, the subject having been under public discussion in and out of Congress for almost three years previously. It is not surprising that the demonetization of silver should have encountered so little opposition when it is remembered that the silver dollar was then an obsolete coin. The law had permitted the free coinage of silver since April 2, 1792, yet the total amount coined prior to 1873 was only $8,045,838, while the amount of gold coined during the same period was $781,656,541. The silver dollar was not an actual standard of value for about thirty-five years previous to 1873, there having been practically no silver in circulation during that period. The demonetization of silver was undoubtedly prompted by apprehension that the rapidly increasing output of that metal would lead to disturbance of values and depreciation of the currency, should the silver remain even nominally a standard coin. In that very year of 1873 a new body of paying ore was discovered in one of the mines of the Comstock lode in Nevada, and the value of silver began rapidly to decline. The following table shows the

decline down to the period of the repeal of the Sherman Act in 1893:

SILVER AND GOLD VALUES.

Calendar years.	Value of fine ounce at average quotations.	Gain or loss per cent.	Bullion values of a U. S. silver dollar.	Gold ratio.
1873	$1.30	0.45 gain	$1.004	15.9
1874	1.28	1.00 loss	.989	15.2
1875	1.25	3.00 loss	.96	16.6
1876	1.16	10.00 loss	.90	17.9
1877	1.20	7.00 loss	.929	17.2
1878	1.15	10.00 loss	.89	17.9
1879	1.12	13.00 loss	.869	18.4
1880	1.14	11.00 loss	.886	18.0
1881	1.14	12.00 loss	.88	18.1
1882	1.13	12.00 loss	.878	18.2
1883	1.11	14.00 loss	.868	18 6
1884	1.11	14.00 loss	.86	18.6
1885	1.06	18.00 loss	.82	19.4
1886	0.99	23.00 loss	.769	20.8
1887	0.98	24.00 loss	.757	21.1
1888	0.94	27.00 loss	.727	22.0
1889	0.93	28.00 loss	.72	22.0
1890	1.05	19.00 loss	.809	19.7
1891	0.99	23.00 loss	.76	20.9
1892	0.87	33.00 loss	.67	23.7
1893 8 months	0.81	37.00 loss	.625	25.5

THE BLAND–ALLISON ACT.

The movement for the restoration of silver as a money metal began in this country in 1878 with the passage of the Bland Allison act. In 1878, the Bland bill for the free coinage of silver dollars passed the House. An amendment, subsequently concurred in by the House, was secured by Mr. Allison in the Senate; and the measure finally became a law over the veto of President Hayes.

The coinage of the silver dollar, with full legal-tender power, was restored—not for individuals, as prior to 1873, but on government account—the law requiring the purchase and coinage monthly, by the Government, of not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion. Although only the minimum amount was purchased and coined, the purchases of silver under this act aggregated 291,292,019 ounces, costing $308,199,262, from which there were coined and issued, either in actual dollars or paper certificates, $378,166,795.

When this bill was passed, continental Europe had already gone far toward the adoption of the gold standard. In 1870 Great Britain was the only gold standard country in the world by law. The United States was practically a gold standard country, for the silver dollar, being undervalued, did not circulate. In 1871 Germany decided on the gold standard, and practically threw her old silver coins on the market in the form of bullion. Holland followed in 1873, the Latin Union in 1876, and Spain in 1878. The immediate reason for this movement was the depreciation of silver, and this depreciation continued. Notwithstanding the enormous purchases under the Bland-Allison act, the price of the metal fell from $1.20½ an ounce on February 28, 1878, to $0.92 an ounce on May 29, 1889.

The Sherman Act.

In June, 1890, the senate, by a vote of 42 to 25, had passed a bill for the free coinage of silver into legal dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1. There being a prospect that the bill would pass the House, the silver law of July 14, 1890 (the so-called "Sherman" law), was framed. It finally passed the House by 122 to 90, the yeas being 121 Republicans and 1

"Wheeler," and the nays all Democrats. In the Senate the vote stood 39 to 26, a strict party division, the yeas being all Republicans, and three unpaired Democrats not voting. The treasury was required to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, and the act required the coinage into dollars monthly, until July 1, 1891, of 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bought. A declaration was, however, inserted by Senator Sherman, to the effect that it is the "established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law." Up to July 1, 1893, the Treasury had purchased, under the operation of this law, about 157,000,000 ounces of silver.

There had been a steady outflow of gold from the United States for several years. The stock of free gold in the Treasury fell from $218,818,255 in May, 1888, to $93,582,172 on September 30, 1893.

Repeal of Silver Purchase.

It was for the special purpose of securing a repeal of the silver law of 1890 that President Cleveland convoked the 53d Congress in extraordinary session August 7, 1893. His message, summariz ng the main arguments against continued purchases of silver, was not of the character to overcome opposition; and the debate was prolonged in the House until August 26. The silver men, however, fought a losing battle; and on August 28, the Wilson bill (so called from Hon. W. L. Wilson Democratic, of West Virginia, who introduced it August 11), was passed by the altogether unexpected majority of 130. It repealed the purchase clause of the Sherman Act, but left unimpaired the legal-tender quality of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined up to that time, and pledged the faith and credit of the United States to maintain

the parity of all its coins. During the contest the silver men, under the leadership of Mr. Bland, of Missouri, made desperate efforts to secure the passage of a free coinage law. Several ratios, ranging from 16 to 1 to 20 to 1, were proposed; but were successively rejected by decisive majorities. A similar fate met a proposal to revive the Bland-Allison Act of 1878. The bill went to the Senate, and after a severe struggle passed that body and at length became a law, November 1, 1893.

One of the most important political results of the repeal of the so-called Sherman Act was the secession from the Republican party of Senator John P. Jones, of Nevada. The latter addressed a letter on September 4, 1894, to the chairman of the Republican State central committee of Nevada, formally severing his connection with the Republican party, announcing his alliance with "the party that brings this overmastering issue (the silver question) to the front" (presumably the Populists), and giving at length his reasons therefor. In the main these reasons are, that the Republican party organization is unalterably opposed to the free coinage of silver at the American ratio of 16 to 1, or at all, except with the consent of foreign governments and at a ratio to be dictated by them.

Demands of Silver Advocates.

The claims of the advocates of free silver coinage seem to be clearly and simply set forth in the following demands of the National Bimetallic League:

"1. All legislation demonetizing silver and restricting the coinage thereof must be immediately and completely repealed by an act restoring the coinage of the country to the conditions established by the founders of the nation. We protest against

the financial policy of the United States being made dependent upon the opinion or policies of any foreign government.

"2. We assert that the only remedy for our metallic financial troubles is to open the mints of the nation to gold and silver on equal terms at the old ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold. Whenever silver bullion can be exchanged at the mints for legal-tender silver dollars worth 100 cents, that moment 412½ grains of standard silver will be worth 100 cents; and, as commerce equalizes the prices of all commodities throughout the world, whenever 412½ grains of standard silver are worth 100 cents in the United States, they will be worth that sum everywhere else, and cannot be bought for less. While such a result would enhance the price of bullion, a similar rise would be immediately made in every kind of property, except gold and credits."

PART VI.

TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

MONOPOLY DESCRIBED.

Monopoly is the possession by an individual or corporation of the exclusive privilege of supplying some public and general want. Every citizen of the United States has the right to engage in any lawful business, subject to the conditions imposed by law; but monopolies are nevertheless conferred both by Federal and State legislation. The patent and copyright laws grant monopolies to those who comply with their requirements. A railway may be a monopoly, so far as part or all of its traffic is concerned, if there is no competing line. Street-railway and gas and water-supply franchises are often, if not generally, monopolies, for the reason that competition is impossible under the terms of the grant. In the case of a street railway, for instance, there could not very well be two rival lines on one thoroughfare.

Certain monopolies which have been engaging public attention for several years, are, however, monopolies only in a conventional sense. They are combinations of trade and capital for the purpose of controlling and profitably managing some particular branch of business, previously carried on by several and perhaps numerous competing concerns. These combinations are generally known as "trusts," and various laws have been passed for their suppression. That they sometimes interfere in legislation and exert great power in politics was shown, in 1894, in the minority (Republican)

report from the Senate Committee on the Sugar Trust scandal, as follows :

Political Power of Trusts.

"All the witnesses stated that in all these conferences and discussions nothing was presented except the ordinary arguments off red by an industry in regard to its interests in a tariff bill; but the undersigned feel that the American Sugar Refining company occupies a very different position, not only in the public estimation, but as a matter of fact, from that of any other industry in the country. It is a very rich corporation with an enormous interest in tariff legislation. It is a matter of complete indifference to the trust, what duties are levied upon sugar, so long as the form is *ad valorem*, and a sufficient differential is given in favor of refined sugars. The sugar trust, by the evidence of its president and treasurer, has contributed freely to the State and city campaign funds of both parties, and those contributions have been made in years when national elections were held. This is a thoroughly corrupt form of campaign contributions; for such contributions, being given to two opposing parties, are not for the purpose of promoting certain political principles, but to establish an obligation to the giver on the part of whichever party comes into power. The trust does not give to political parties for the promotion of political principles in which it believes, but for the protection of its own interests, as appears by the same testimony. The fact that it gives to both political parties is sufficient proof of the purposes of its contributions and of their dangerous nature.

"For these reasons the undersigned have felt it important to lay before the senate and the country the fact that the sugar schedule as it now stands is according to the testimony in the form desired by the sugar trust, and to point out also the methods

by which the sugar trust reached what it desired and obtained, a substantial victory."

The United States Anti-Trust Law, passed in 1890, is as follows:

AN ACT

TO PROTECT TRADE AND COMMERCE AGAINST UNLAWFUL RESTRAINTS AND MONOPOLIES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

SECTION 1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract, or engage in any combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2. Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. Every contract, combination in form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce in any Territory of the United States or of the District of Columbia, or in restraint of trade or commerce between any such Territory and another, or between any such Territory or Territories and any State or States or

the District of Columbia, or with foreign nations, or between the District of Columbia and any State or States or foreign nations, is hereby declared illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 4. The several circuit courts of the United States are hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of this act; and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney-General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. Such proceedings may be by way of petition setting forth the case and praying that such violation shall be enjoined or otherwise prohibited. When the parties complained of shall have been duly notified of such petition the court shall proceed, as soon as may be, to the hearing and determination of the case; and pending such petition and before final decree, the court may at any time make such temporary restraining order or prohibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

SEC. 5. Whenever it shall appear to the court before which any proceeding under section four of this act may be pending, that the ends of justice require that other parties should be brought before the court, the court may cause them to be summoned, whether they reside in the district in which the court is held or not; and subpœnas to that end may be served in any district by the marshal thereof.

SEC. 6. Any property owned under any contract or by any combination, or pursuant to any conspiracy (and being the subject thereof) mentioned in section one of this act, and being in the course of transportation from one State to another, or to a foreign country, shall be forfeited to the United States, and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided by law for

the forfeiture, seizure, and condemnation of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

SEC. 7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act, may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover three-fold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

SEC. 8. That the word "person," or "persons," wherever used in this act shall be deemed to include corporations and associations existing under or authorized by the laws of either the United States, the laws of any of the Territories, the laws of any State, or the laws of any foreign country.

Approved July 2, 1890.

STATE LAWS AGAINST TRUSTS.

Mr. Dodd, in the Harvard "Law Review," summarizes anti-trust legislation in the different States as follows—the word "persons" being used for "persons, corporations, associations, and partnerships," and the word "agreement," or "attempt," for "contract, combination, conspiracy, understanding, arrangement, or act:"

In sixteen States, it is a criminal conspiracy for two or more persons to agree to regulate or fix the price of any article, or to fix or limit the quantity of any article to be manufactured, mined, produced or sold. Regulating and fixing prices necessarily include increasing and reducing prices, but in most of the statutes these are also specified as criminal.

In six States, it is a crime for two or more persons to enter into any agreement whereby "full

and free competition in production and sale" is prevented.

In two States and one territory, it is a crime for two or more persons to "attempt to monopolize" any article.

In Nebraska, two or more persons are guilty of conspiracy if they agree to suspend or cease the sale of any manufactured products, or if they agree that the profits of any manufacture or sale shall be made a common fund, to be divided among them.

In Texas and Mississippi, besides the crimes of fixing, regulating, increasing, and reducing prices, it is also a crime for persons to settle the price of any article between themselves, or between themselves and others.

In New York, it is a crime to enter into any contract whereby competition in the supply or price of articles in common use for support of life and health may be restrained or prevented for the purpose of advancing prices.

PART VII.

LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

LABOR'S MARVELOUS PROGRESS.

Before speaking of the present condition of labor in the United States it may not be amiss to recall something of labor's progress in the past under American institutions. It is unfortunate that stereotyped history should have so little to say about labor, as compared with political events. We hear much of kings and queens and generals, of sieges and battles and triumphs, but very little of the great unnumbered multitude of toilers who were, and are, the very foundation and, we should add, the pillar of all this pomp and circumstance. If the question should be asked, "What has been the most prominent feature of the past hundred years?" how few would answer, "The emancipation of labor." Yet the answer would be eminently true. No invention, however useful; no military achievement, however signal, has been of such measureless advantage to humanity as the change in the conditions of labor since the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is not from reading ordinary histories that this change is discernible. To comprehend it you must delve into the musty old records of the past; the reports of council and court proceedings, the pages of ancient newspapers, and especially the advertising columns. In all of them you will find cropping out the fact that the ordinary workingman, at a period not far distant, was hardly different from a serf, while the lot of the workingwoman was even

more desperate. The apprenticeship of the last century was only a modified form of slavery, and the female domestic was a bondwoman with but slight prospects of ever being free. White men and women were bound for a term of years to their masters or mistresses, and the term was readily extended by the magistrates upon any trivial pretence of misconduct on the part of the servant. The pay, too, was so inadequate that only one resource remained, as a rule, when the term of service was completed, and that was to renew the obligation and resume the yoke of bondage. At the time of the outbreak of the Revolution the lines of class in this respect were distinctly drawn, and almost as severe, from a social point of view, as that between whites and blacks in the South to-day.

Effect of Independence on Labor.

The Declaration of Independence was, of course, not intended to liberate the bondman, white or black, except so far as related to political separation from England; but perforce of circumstances it did have that effect both as regarded the general body of white laborers and some of the blacks. Perhaps this was one reason why the rich throughout the colonies were frequently on the Tory side. In 1775, before independence was declared, but when war had begun, General Washington, speaking of the Massachusetts levies, says: "From the number of boys, deserters and negroes which have been enlisted in the troops of this province I entertain some doubts whether the number required can be raised here, and all the general officers agree that no dependence can be put on the militia for a continuance in camp, or regularity and discipline during the short time they may stay. This unhappy and devoted province has been so long in a

state of anarchy and the yoke of ministerial oppression been laid so heavily on it that great allowances are to be made for troops raised under such circumstances." The "deserters" spoken of by General Washington were doubtless men who had deserted the service of their masters to join the Continental forces, and who preferred fighting for the liberty of their country to personal slavery. The American army in the Revolution was largely composed of such men, and in the stress for recruits the authorities made no searching inquiries as to whether the volunteer was or was not somebody's indentured servant. Consequently the War of Independence effected a social as well as political revolution. It effected a thorough kneading, as it were, of the various elements of the population, and when it closed the workingman was virtually free to labor where he pleased, while the rich and poor were much closer together than they had been before.

The Workingman's Political Enfranchisement.

The conspiracy laws, however, remained. It was still a crime, as in the days of Queen Elizabeth, for workingmen to combine with a view of bringing employers to terms, and many harsh prosecutions were instituted and maintained on this ground. Property qualifications excluded the workingman from the suffrage in many of the States, and although at liberty to work where he pleased, and no longer a bondman held by indenture, he was still debarred from a share in the government supported by his toil, and denied the right to combine for the improvement of his condition. As long as the laborer remained a political nonentity it was useless for him to hope for a repeal of the

laws which, if they did not prevent labor organization, made that organization ineffectual. The property qualification laws were gradually repealed in the Northern States where they had existed, except one—Rhode Island—where a property qualification for foreign born voters continued in force until five or six years ago. The workingman, now recognized as a political equal, soon made his influence felt, and the rivalry of political parties for his favor led to the gradual effacement of all the statutes which interfered with his right to organize for an increase of wages and the general improvement of his condition. Labor organizations were formed in all parts of the country, and especially in the centres of industry, and strikes, sometimes prudent and at other times imprudent, sometimes successful and often unsuccessful, gave notice that labor meant to assert its claim to fair and reasonable wages.

Labor Organization and Improved Conditions.

Organization has undoubtedly had an effect in maintaining wages at a figure sufficient for a comfortable living. It is only necessary to glance at unorganized trades to perceive this. The workingman who is unprotected by organization is entirely at the mercy of his employer, who may or may not be a just man, and who may be disposed to get his work done as cheaply as possible without regard to the effect on the laborer. The employer, indeed, is justified in having work done as cheaply as he can, and it is the business of the workingman to get all that he can for his work; and this he can only do by some form of organization which will enable employes to act in harmony for their common advantage. The laws which have been passed

in nearly every manufacturing State reducing the hours of labor, regulating the employment of children in factories, and providing for factory inspection by officials acting under State authoritry are all chiefly due to organized effort on the part of the workingmen. There is no doubt that labor organizations are sometimes blindly led, with disastrous results for themselves and for the public, but labor organization has been and is, on the whole fruitful of benefit not for the workingman only —using that term in its narrow sense—but for the community. The welfare of society is promoted by every improvement in the workingman's condition—by weekly payments, by shortened hours, which give him opportunity for recreation and instruction, and by compelling heartless and unscrupulous employers to have regard for the interests of those whose labor fertilizes capital. So far from being gloomy or unpromising, the condition of labor in this country is most promising, and every reasonable advantage which labor has yet to attain can be achieved ballot in hand, by the exercise of a freeman's duty.

PART VIII.

RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHURCH AND STATE.

It has already been stated that religion was an essential element in the origin of our nation—far more important than the elements of trade and adventure. From the very beginning, the Church was closely allied with the State in several of the leading colonies, and this connection continued in a more or less modified form until far in the present century. The writer met in his earlier years veteran Baptists and Methodists, who, when themselves young, had been imprisoned in Massachusetts for refusing to contribute to the support of the Congregational ministry. Both in the Massachusetts and the New Haven colonies freemen were required to be church members. This was first ordered in the former colony as early as 1631. "To the end that the body of the freemen may be preserved of honest and good men, it is ordered," ran the statute, "that henceforth no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the Commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of its jurisdiction." In 1660 it was further enacted by the General Court of Massachusetts—as the legislature of that Commonwealth was then, and still is, designated—that "no man whosoever shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politick but such as are members of some Church of Christ and in full communion." As members of the church were admitted only by the consent of those already in membership, it is

apparent that the government was virtually ecclesiastical. The English government sought to have privilege of voting in Massachusetts extended to all Protestants "orthodox in religion, though of different persuasions concerning church government." The Puritans discreetly professed to comply with this request by providing that a freeman must have a certificate signed by the minister of the place where he resided to the effect that he was "orthodox in religion and not vicious in his life." Practically, the ministers being all of the Congregational faith, matters remained as before. New Haven also required that all freemen should be church members. Quakers were debarred from voting in all the New England colonies except Rhode Island. Locke's Constitution for Carolina provided no man should be a freeman "who doth not acknowledge a God, and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshiped." Roman Catholics were generally disfranchised, even in Maryland after that province had passed from the control of Lord Baltimore's family. The weight of evidence is against the charge that Rhode Island disfranchised Roman Catholics, although a clause to that effect appeared in several editions of the Rhode Island laws, inserted there probably with a view of propitiating the anti-papal sentiment in England. Jews could not legally vote in New York or South Carolina.

Church Support in Massachusetts.

After independence had been declared, the convention which framed a constitution for Massachusetts, provided in the Declaration of Rights that "the legislature shall from time to time authorize and require the several towns, parishes, precincts and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to

make suitable provision at their own expense for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily. All the people of the Commonwealth have also a right to, and do invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers as aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be anyone whose instructions they can conscientiously all conveniently attend:—

"Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. All moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any, upon whose instruction he attends; otherwise it may be paid toward the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which said moneys are raised.

"And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law."

Notwithstanding the last-quoted paragraph, the Congregational churches were in effect made State establishments by this constitution, the ministers' dues being collected by public officers known as "Tithingmen." The State Church system continued in full operation until 1815, when so-called dissenters were released from paying taxes for the maintenance of the Congregational ministry, and in 1833 the involuntary support of public worship

was abolished altogether, after a most vigorous controversy between those who opposed and those who advocated the voluntary system.

Church and State in Connecticut.

In Connecticut it was provided by the constitution of 1818 that "every society or denomination of Christians" should have power and authority to tax the members thereof for the payment of the ministry, and the building and repairing of places of worship, but a member of any religious society might escape this responsibility by separating himself therefrom through a formal notice given in writing. This practically put an end to the obligatory maintenance of the churches in that State, and the Congregational pulpits had to depend, like others, upon the free contributions of the people.

The Mormon Hierarchy.

The only State Church system which has existed within the latter half of the nineteenth century in any part of the United States has been that of the Mormon Church in Utah. This organization for years held absolute power over the lives and property of the people of Utah, violating the United States laws by polygamous marriage, and attempting to override the authority of United States officers. It was not until about twenty years ago that the legislative branch of the government began to take vigorous action against the Mormon hierarchy and system, and the struggle lasted until the public surrender, in September, 1890, of the church authorities, President Woodruff, head of the

Church, then announcing by a proclamation and in conference that the Mormons accepted the United States law prohibiting polygamy. The conflict had been attended by an extraordinary exertion of the powers of this government. The disfranchisement of polygamists, under the Edmunds bill of 1882, was undoubtedly the blow that stunned the hierarchy, and paralyzed opposition. A singular feature of Mormonism was that women were invited by admission to the suffrage to share in maintaining their own degradation; but the Edmunds bill struck at females as well as males, who shared in the polygamous relation. The admission of Utah as a State is expected by many who have studied the conditions there to revive the despotism of the hierarchy, although polygamy is probably dead beyond resurrection. The law of Congress providing for admission made it a condition "that perfect toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured, and no inhabitant of said State shall ever be molested in person or property on account of his or her mode of religious worship. *Provided*, That polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited." It is already reported that the Mormon Church authorities are assuming a dictatorial attitude, as if they meant to take the reins of the new State in their grasp.

Religious Statistics.

The first successful effort to compile religious statistics for a Federal census was in 1890. Mr. H. K. Carroll, LL. D., was appointed by Robert P. Porter, Superintendent of the Eleventh Census, to take the census of the churches, and his work was the first effectual effort of the government in this direction. In 1850, 1860 and 1870 religious

statistics were gathered by United States marshals or their agents. In the census of 1850 and 1860 three items only were given, namely, churches, church accommodations and value of church property. In 1870 a distinction was made between churches or church societies and church edifices, thus making an additional item. In 1880 large preparations were made for a census which should not only be thorough, but exhaustive in the number of its inquiries. A vast mass of detailed information was obtained, but the appropriations were exhausted before it was tabulated, and the results were wholly lost. Mr. Carroll determined to make the scope of the inquiry broad enough to embrace the necessary items of information, and narrow enough to insure success in collecting, tabulating and publishing them; and to devise a method of collecting the statistics which would serve the ends of accuracy, completeness and promptness. It was in some sense to be a pioneer effort, and the plan and methods adopted were designed to bring success within the range of possibility. The method of gathering the statistics was to make the presbytery, the classis, the association, the synod, the diocese, the conference, etc., the unit in the division of the work, and to ask the clerk or moderator, or statistical secretary of each to obtain the desired information from the churches belonging to the presbytery, association or diocese, as the case might be. This officer received full instructions how to proceed, and sufficient supplies of circulars, schedules, etc., to communicate with each church. This method proved to be quite practicable and very satisfactory, although, in all probability, the figures given were in some instances exaggerated. The most flagrant instance of exaggeration was in connection with a Chinese temple in New York city, which claimed 7000 worshipers, whereas the whole State of New York has a Chinese population of less than 3000. The riddle was no

doubt correctly solved by the assumption that 7000 was the number worshiping in the same temple in the course of a year, the same individuals being counted many times.

The Various Denominations.

Mr. Carroll afterward published a summary of his work, in which it was perhaps hardly necessary to say that the Church has no claim on the State, and the State no claim on any church. That has happily been the case ever since the final severance of the Congregational faith from State support in New England. It is of interest to observe that many of the 143 religious denominations differ only in name. Without a single change in doctrine or polity, the seventeen Methodist bodies could be reduced to three or four; the twelve Presbyterian to three; the twelve Mennonite to two, and so on. Of the distinction between evangelical and non-evangelical churches Mr. Carroll says that "the evangelical churches are those which hold to the inspiration, authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the deity of Christ, justification by faith alone, and the work of the Holy Ghost in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner. The non-evangelical churches are those which take a rationalistic view of the deity of Christ and the doctrines of grace, of which the Unitarians may be taken as an example. There are some denominations which have the word evangelical in their title, and yet are thoroughly rationalistic, and therefore non-evangelical. Practically we may distinguish as evangelical all those bodies which are members of the general organization known as the Evangelical Alliance, or in harmony with its articles of faith; and as non-evangelical all other Protestant bodies." The vast majority of Protestants are in

the evangelical denominations, the number of communicants being 13 869,483, as against 132,992 non-evangelical communicants. It should be mentioned, however, that Mr. Carroll counts the Universalists as evangelical. They number 49,194 communicants. The most numerous Protestant denomination are the Methodist, with 4.589,284 communicants; the Baptists coming next, with 3.717,969; the Presbyterians following, with 1,278,-332, and the Lutherans with 1,231,072. It may be news to many that the denomination known as "The Disciples of Christ" outnumber the two great creeds which were once rivals for religious control in the British portion of America, the Disciples of Christ numbering 641,051, the Protestant Episcopalians 540,509, and the Congregationalists 512.771. The number of Roman Catholics is given as 6,257.871. As the Roman Catholic Church always gives in its published annual statistics the number of baptized members, or population, instead of communicants, the census appointee in each diocese was requested to comply with the requirements of the census schedules and furnish the number of communicants, in order that the statistics of all the denominations might be uniform. This was done in every case. According to information received from bishops, it is the custom of the Roman Catholic Church for baptized persons to make their first communion between the ages of 9 and 11 years. Baptized persons below the age of 9 years are not included, therefore, in the census returns. Nevertheless I do not think that even this restriction gives a fair opportunity for comparing the number of those adhering to the Protestant denominations with the numbers adhering to the Roman Catholic faith. It would probably be safe to double the number of Protestants, and to add about 15 per cent., as suggested, Mr. Carroll says, by some ecclesiastical authorities, to the number of Roman Catholics.

Non-Orthodox Bodies.

So-called non-orthodox bodies are not numerous as compared with the vast multitudes of Protestants and Roman Catholics. When the prominence of the Jews in trade and commerce, and in the daily life of our great cities is considered, it is surprising to learn that they are out-numbered by the Latter Day Saints, or Mormons, the Mormon Church having 166,125 communicants, and the Jewish 130,496. The Theosophists, of whom we have heard so much, number only 695. The proportion of Chinese idolaters is not given, owing to the manifest inaccuracy of the figures returned, and Mr. Carroll apparently did not meddle with the fascinating and antique mysticism of the Zunis. The Salvation Army, which has done and is doing such admirable work both in England and America, is represented in nearly every part of the Union, however remote, and it is to be noted with regret that local authorities in some parts of the country still show intolerance toward the Army's efforts. Besides the better known denominations there are the Dunkards, the Bible Brethren and other sects, of whom but little is heard by the world at large.

Success of the Voluntary System.

Judging from the experience of the United States the voluntary system has achieved a success never paralleled by the State-supported hierarchies of the Old World, and religion still has a hold upon the heart and conscience of man as potent as in the days of Paul and Augustine, of Luther and of Savonarola.

Part IX.

CITIZENSHIP AND SUFFRAGE.

The Citizen's Obligations and Rights.

A citizen is a member of the State. Citizenship carries with it certain obligations which cannot be avoided, and certain rights which cannot be denied. The obligations are allegiance to the State and obedience to its laws; the rights are to the State's protection at home and abroad while engaged in lawful undertakings, and to the privileges and immunities guaranteed by the fundamental law. These obligations and rights are absolute and inherent in citizenship. The citizen can be discharged from his obligations only by a change of allegiance in accordance with treaties entered into by the United States with other powers, and permitting such change; the State can never divest itself of the duty to protect its citizens. Citizenship does not carry with it any political power. The citizen may be a helpless infant, a disfranchised woman, or a full-fledged elector. All these are equally citizens, and their rights are identical, although only one of them has a share in the government of the Republic.

The difference between an American elector and the subject of a European power, like England, the German empire, or Italy, is that the voting citizen here has a part in all the government; there his vote deals only with a section of the government. In England the ballot cannot reach the throne; in Germany its limit is the Reichstag;

in the United States the head of the State is the creature of the ballot-box. When Benjamin Disraeli, in the British Parliament spoke of Abraham Lincoln as the sovereign of the United States he was correctly reminded that the American people were the sovereigns of the United States. The American voter is a sovereign in the fullest sense. He appoints his rulers, and he has the power to change, through the medium of constitutional forms, the laws which guide and control their conduct. Through the same agency he extends or restricts the franchise. He may be as poor as Job robbed of his possessions, but in the ballot he wields a sceptre more powerful than that of Charlemagne, over an empire more extensive than that of Augustus. He has far better reason to be proud than the Roman citizen, who so highly prized the privilege of living under the ægis of the Cæsars.

Voting is a Privilege.

Although the "right to vote" is a common expression, the fact is exemplified throughout American history that voting is a privilege and not a right. About one-half of the total number of adult citizens of the United States are debarred from the franchise on account of their sex, while large numbers are denied a share in the suffrage on the ground of ignorance, or for other reasons not prohibited by the Federal Constitution. On the other hand, in some of the States, aliens are permitted to vote, provided they have declared their intention to become citizens—an extraordinary condition of affairs, making it possible for a President of the United States to be selected—of course through the agency of the Electoral college—by the votes of British, German or Russian subjects. The privilege of voting is, therefore, even in this

advanced age, not bestowed according to any universal rule, and is obviously not recognized as one of the rights secured by the Declaration of Independence. In the beginning of the Republic indeed, and until a period within the lifetime of many now living, the principle was generally recognized in legislation that the voter ought to have an individual interest in real estate—that he ought to be a taxpayer, and that in casting his ballot for public officers he should feel that he was choosing men who were to use his personal means for the public welfare. Even Pennsylvania confined the suffrage to white taxpayers, notwithstanding the witty query of Benjamin Franklin as to whether a man who was permitted to vote because he owned an ass was any less qualified if he lost the animal.

It is an interesting fact that, although the Eastern States—that term being used in its broadest meaning—are commonly looked upon as the fountain of intelligence and enlightenment, manhood suffrage found its anchor in the West, and from thence reacted upon the East, just as woman suffrage is repeating that history to-day. The reason for this is obvious. Men were valued as men in the new States, and the arm that could hold a rifle or wield an axe was too important to be measured on a Procrustean bed of property qualification. Inducements, too, had to be held out for immigrants, and what better inducement to the disfranchised citizen struggling with poverty in the East than the prospect of prosperity and enfranchisement in the West? This influence of equality, irrespective of property, gradually "backed water," if I may so express it, upon the older communities, until State after State removed property restrictions, so far as the white population was concerned. For the colored people, even in most of the Northern States, these restrictions continued until during or after the war.

The subject of colored suffrage brings up an incident of history worthy of being recalled. When,

in the early part of the century, the question of admitting colored men to the franchise was under discussion in the legislature at Albany, the proposition was objected to on the ground that the wealthy families of New York city would be able to exert an undue influence in city and State affairs through the votes of their colored servants. To Americans of to-day the objection mentioned, and which was most seriously debated, may appear grotesque, but to the people of that day it had no doubt just as grave and important an aspect as some of the problems which agitators of our own generation consider to be portentous of trouble for the Republic. The truth is that the issue of the colored coachmen which so excited our fathers was no more imaginary and illusory than some political spectres which loom up to-day against the twilight sky of the nineteenth century. The nation has much greater vitality than many short-sighted people suppose, and will not be diverted from the highway of progress by difficulties real or unreal.

Qualifications for Voting.

It is not necessary here to more than mention the religious qualification for the franchise which existed in certain American colonies. That passed away with the colonial period, and the subject is dealt with in the article on "Religion." The ownership of property generally ceased to be a requisite for voting in the Northern States before the late civil war. In the older States of the South, exclusive of Georgia, the property qualification was maintained, Georgia having been controlled in the direction of liberality by the same influences which affected the newer States, both South and North. Her extensive territory needed development, and her people wisely provided that no

restrictions should be imposed upon white settlers as to their political privileges. For similar reasons Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and Florida, extended full civic privileges to the white man. Tennessee rather queerly provided that colored men should not be required to perform military duty in time of peace. The Southern constitutions which denied civil rights to the negro seemed, however, to recognize that he was a citizen, although a slave in the very language of the denial. They also recognized that slavery was not a question of color, the statement that "every free white male citizen" could vote, clearly admitting both that white men could be slaves and that slaves were citizens. It is an interesting fact that the original constitution of North Carolina did not exclude free negroes from the suffrage, and that this condition of affairs continued until 1836, when an amendment was adopted providing that "no free negro, free mulatto, or free person of mixed blood, descended from negro ancestors to the fourth generation inclusive (though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person), shall vote for members of the Senate or House of Commons." There is no doubt that slavery in the South was not wholly dependent on color, and this recalls the fact that not long before the war articles appeared in Southern newspapers urging the enslavement of white mechanics and laborers. The civil war made American slavery historical, and led to the suffrage conditions which prevail to-day.

Rhode Island alone, among all the States of the Union, maintained a property qualification for foreign born citizens until about six years ago, soldiers of alien birth who had fought gallantly in the war for the Union being denied the privilege of voting unless they owned real estate. It was this that led the writer to indite the following lines on the Soldiers' Monument in Providence, which

appeared about seven years ago in one of the leading New York newspapers:

"Aloft above the busy square,
Behold the list of heroes there,
Whose life-blood crimsoned Southern sand
From Roanoke to Rio Grande—
And there, above, Columbia's form;
In summer sun and winter storm,
With wreath in hand and pensive head
She mourns and crowns her warriors dead!

"I read the names of many there,
Familiar as New England air—
Names that have rung the ages down
From landing-year at Plymouth town;
That rallied to the bugle call
At Louisburg and Montreal,
And swelled the Continental roll
From Bunker Hill to Newburg's goal.

"And these again—of stranger sound—
This cannot be their native ground—
No; born upon a foreign strand,
They heard of this God-favored land,
And, scorning rule of king and peer,
They sought the rights of manhood here;
For us they died—what more could be
Their proof of faith and loyalty.

"And these Rhode Island's helots were;
Denied the freeman's right to share;
Denied the ballot's sacred trust,
Because, forsooth, of native dust
They owned no part; yet, side by side
With native-born they fought and died;
And from that monument proclaim
Rhode Island's glory and her shame."

Woman Suffrage.

At the present time manhood suffrage, restricted in some of the States by the payment of a personal tax, and in other States by an educational qualification, is the rule throughout the United States. Women are endowed with full voting privileges in the States of Colorado, Wyoming, Montana* and Utah. The advocates of woman suffrage organized a vigorous campaign in 1894 to obtain from the New York Constitutional Convention an indorsement of their cause. They appreciated that success in the Empire State would probably have a decisive influence throughout the United States. Probably the most favorable symptom for woman suffrage was the antagonism which it evoked. For the first time in New York State the opposition was earnest, anxious and resolute. The woman suffrage cause, however, although most ably presented, had no prospect of success in the Convention. On July 18, 1894, the suffrage committee voted unanimously (17 to 0) against all the main proposals to give suffrage to women; among these were a motion to permit women to vote on all questions relating to schools, excise, or taxes; a motion to authorize the Legislature to confer on women the right of suffrage: a motion to permit women owning property to vote; a motion authorizing women to vote on the question whether they shall become voters; and a motion authorizing a similar vote by both men and women. Various other motions in committee were defeated by large majorities. On August 8 the suffrage committee reported adversely all the amendments except that relating to school suffrage. The convention, however, proceeded to debate a motion providing for a double submission of the question—once to see if the amendment for woman

*In Montana women who pay taxes vote on the same terms as men.

suffrage should be submitted in 1895, and once to obtain a vote on the amendment itself. On August 15 this motion was defeated by a vote of 97 to 58, and woman suffrage had no further consideration in the convention. The people of Massachusetts rejected woman suffrage at the election held in November, 1895.

Kansas has bestowed on women the right to vote in municipal elections, and twenty-three States have conferred school suffrage on women.

Secret Voting—The Australian System.

Secret voting has always been the practice in this country, and was the rule in the New England colonies, except when the voting was done in open town meeting by show of hands. The custom of open voting in town meeting still prevails in New England towns when a ballot is not demanded. While under the old system the voting by ballot was professedly secret, it was in fact impossible or almost impossible for the voter to conceal his choice. For instance, it was the custom in some places for one party or faction to have ballots of a different color from those of the other party. I have seen one party with coffee-colored, and the other using white ballots. The object was evident —to know whether the voter, bought with money or bound by intimidation, voted as he was expected to vote. Even where the law required white ballots of similar size and appearance it was easily evaded. Hence the introduction of the Australian ballot system, so-called because devised and first used in Australia. This system, with modifications, has been adopted in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, New Jersey, Indiana, Rhode Island and other States. It insures absolute secrecy for the voter. Each voter is provided with

a ballot or set of ballots printed at the public expense and handed to him by the election officers. The ballot or ballots contain the names of all the candidates for the office for which the vote is to be cast. The polls being open the voter enters and gives his name and address. An examination of the registry ascertains his right to vote. An election officer hands him the ballot or ballots, and he enters a booth, the door of which he closes after him, and there selects and folds his ballot, if there are several, or makes a mark against the candidates he prefers, if it is a single or blanket ballot, or writes in a name, if he prefers to vote for a person not in the official list of candidates. The ballot is so folded that there is no revelation of its contents until it is opened, after the close of the polls, for the purpose of counting. Each voter is allowed a certain time—not usually exceeding ten minutes—in a booth to prepare his ballot. If physically disabled, or illiterate, he can obtain assistance, upon giving satisfactory evidence that the application is made in good faith. No solicitation of voters near the polls is permitted; neither is the voter permitted to state at the polling-place how he has voted. A more technical description of the system might be given, but the above includes all features of importance. A somewhat peculiar law has recently been enacted in New York requiring voters, upon registration, to give their weight, height, etc., and authorizing mention in the registration book of any unusual external marks—the object being to prevent fraudulent voting.

Naturalized Citizens.

Naturalized citizens have the same voting privileges as citizens of native origin, except that, under the recently adopted Constitution of the State of

New York, no citizen naturalized within ninety days preceding any election can vote at such election. An alien seeking naturalization as a citizen of the United States must declare on oath before a Circuit or District Court of the United States, or a District or Supreme Court of the Territories, or a court of record of any of the States having common law jurisdiction and a seal and a clerk, at least two years before his admission that it is, bona-fide, his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign State or ruler, and particularly to the one of which he may be at the time a citizen or subject. At the time of his application for admission he must also declare on oath, before some one of the courts above specified, "that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, State or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, to the prince, potentate, State or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject."

It must appear to the satisfaction of the court to which the alien has applied for final admission that he has resided continuously within the United States for at least five years, and in the State or Territory where the court is held at least one year, and that during that time "he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same." If the applicant bears any hereditary title or belongs to any order of nobility, he must make an express renunciation at the time of his application.

Any alien twenty-one years old and upward who has been honorably discharged from the armies of the United States may become a citizen on his petition, without any previous declaration of intention, provided he has resided in the United States

at least one year previous to his application and is of good moral character. Any alien who has resided in the United States three years next preceding his twenty-first birthday, and has continued to reside therein up to the time he makes application to be admitted a citizen, may, after he arrives at the age of twenty-one, and after he has resided five years within the United States, including the three years of his minority, be admitted a citizen; but he must make a declaration on oath and prove to the satisfaction of the court that for the two years next preceding it has been his bona-fide intention to become a citizen.

The children of persons who have been duly naturalized, being under twenty-one at the time of the naturalization of their parents, are, if dwelling in the United States, to be considered as citizens. The children of persons who now are or have been citizens of the United States are considered as citizens, though they may be born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States.

The naturalization of the Chinese is prohibited by Section 14, Chapter 126, Laws of 1882.

A foreign-born woman who marries a citizen of the United States, either native or naturalized, partakes of his citizenship, and this rule applies even although the marriage takes place and the parties reside abroad. In the same way, according to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, "a woman who is a citizen of the United States merges her nationality in that of a foreign husband on her marriage; but it does not necessarily follow that she thus becomes subject to all the disabilities of alienage, such as inability to inherit or transfer real property." In case of legal separation from her husband the wife may elect whether to preserve the foreign nationality acquired by her marriage, or re-acquire her former American citizenship. Upon death of the husband the former citizenship of the wife does not revert; she must do some act by

which to work a change in her nationality if she should desire to do so.

Rights of Citizens Abroad.

Section 2000 of the Revised Statutes of the United States expressly declares that "all naturalized citizens of the United States while in foreign countries are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens."

While the statute quoted is unqualified in its language, it is qualified by common sense in practice. A citizen abroad should exercise the same prudence and discretion in avoiding trouble for his country that he would or should exercise in avoiding trouble for himself. No sensible man will do a thing, or assume an attitude likely to bring on disturbance simply because he has a legal right to do so. Again there comes up the question whether the American citizen abroad who seeks government interference in his behalf has fulfilled the obligations of citizenship. Has he shown a disposition to share the common burdens of his countrymen, or has he intentionally avoided those burdens, and therefore forfeited all equitable claim upon the American people? These are questions to be considered and decided by the executive upon any appeal for protection and mediation from Americans abroad. For instance, suppose that an American citizen should have taken refuge in Canada during the civil war to escape the draft, and continued to reside there, it would be an extreme case indeed that would call for interference in behalf of such a person; and yet when that extreme is reached, the duty of the United States to protect their citizen is imperative and could not be neglected without a sacrifice of the national honor.

PART X.

NATIONAL PARTIES AND ADMINISTRATIONS.

FEDERALISTS AND ANTI-FEDERALISTS.

Two parties existed in the United States when the Federal Constitution was adopted—those who favored and those who opposed a strong central government. The former were known as Federalists; the latter as Anti-Federalists. Washington, with Alexander Hamilton and the elder Adams, guided the Federalists, although it should be needless to say that no narrow partisanship found lodgment in the breast of Washington. He was a Federalist simply because he believed in making the Union powerful and perpetual. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison led the Anti-Federalists, who supported State's rights and a liberty of speech and action which the Federalists regarded as dangerous, and which they sought to suppress by despotic legislation. The Anti-Federalists, who afterward took the name of Republicans, sympathized with the French Revolutionists. The Federalists either believed, like Washington, in keeping strictly apart from Europe's quarrels, or they leaned to Great Britain, so far as they had any preference between the English and the French. When the excesses of the French Revolution had thrown a certain degree of odium upon its supporters, the Anti-Federalists or Republicans were stigmatized by their opponents as Democrats. The name, given as a

reproach, was soon adopted; and the party of Jefferson and Jackson called itself Democratic Republican, and its members were usually called Democrats. The name of Federalist having become unpopular owing to the opposition of the party to the war with England, the Federalists adopted the designation of National Republicans, and some years later, of Whigs. Other party names met with in American political writings are of a local, factional or temporary character. "Bluelight Federalists" was a name given to those who were believed to have made friendly signals to British ships in the war of 1812. "Clintonians" and "Bucktails" were old factions of the Democratic party in New York. "Barnburner" was applied as a term of reproach to a section of the Democracy known as "Free Soil" Democrats, who were in favor of excluding slavery from the Territories and future States of the Union.

The contest for the Presidency in 1796, was between the two parties, Federal and Republican, and resulted in the choice of John Adams for President, and Thomas Jefferson for Vice-President, the former a Federalist, and the latter a Republican. The Federal party still maintained a majority in both branches of the Fifth Congress. Two laws were passed by this Congress, known in history as the "Alien and Sedition Laws," the enforcement of which caused much discontent. The Federalists had a majority in the Sixth Congress, the members of which had been chosen before the revolt against the "Alien and Sedition Laws." With the election of Thomas Jefferson as President the Republicans obtained full possession of the Government. Up to Jefferson's administration there had been no removals from office for political reasons. He claimed as a right of his party a due proportion of the offices. In the election of 1804 the Federalists were again defeated, and success, as usual led to jealousy and conflict in the ranks of

the victors. Jefferson was elected President by the House of Representatives, defeating Aaron Burr on the thirty-sixth ballot. About the beginning of Madison's first administration (1809) the word "Democrat," as applied to the Republicans, again appeared, but the name as that of a great political party, was not fully recognized until 1832.

The Present Democratic Party.

With the first administration of Jackson began the life under its present name, of the Democratic party. The party opposed to him continued to be called the National Republicans, and were known by this name when they met in national convention at Baltimore, in December, 1831, to nominate Henry Clay. Jackson was re-nominated in the same city, in March, 1832, by the Democrats. This contest was the first in our political history in which the parties made nominations through national conventions. This period is also memorable on account of the birth of a third party, known as the Anti-Masons, who in their call for a convention at Baltimore, in September, 1831, announced as their principle—"Opposition to Secret Societies." They made William Wirt, of Virginia, their candidate, and carried the State of Vermont, with its seven electoral votes. As yet party platforms were unknown, but the National Republicans favored a tariff, internal improvements, renewal of the United States Bank charter, and the removal of the Cherokee Indians. About this time the term, "hard money party," began to be applied to the Democrats. Thomas Benton, and others of its leaders, denied the right of the government, under the Constitution, to make any money except gold and silver.

For the contest of 1836 the Democrats in convention again at Baltimore nominated Martin Van

Buren for President, and Richard M. Johnson for Vice-President. The opponents of that party about this time began to apply the epithet "Loco-Foco" to the Democrats. The name originated from an incident which transpired at a noisy public meeting in New York City. After the lights had been put out, they were at once relighted by means of a loco-foco match, by one of the members of the dominant wing of the party. It was for some years merely another name for the Democratic party, applied by their opponents, the Whigs. The Democrats had previously, in a spirit of derision, applied the term "Whig" to the National Republicans. This name was accepted by the latter party, and now the two great opposing parties became known as Democrats and Whigs. The Whigs, and all opposed to Van Buren, united on William Henry Harrison, but the election in November, 1836, resulted in a majority of the Van Buren electors. Van Buren came to the Presidency in March, 1837, on the eve of a financial panic. The Whigs at Harrisburg in 1840 nominated William Henry Harrison for President, and John Tyler for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated at Baltimore Martin Van Buren again for President.

The Liberty Party.

A third party again appeared in the arena. It was styled the Abolition or Liberty party, and nominated James G. Birney, of New York, for President, Francis Lamoyne, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. The leading principle of this new party may be inferred from its name, to-wit: Opposition to slavery. The Whigs in their national convention adopted no platform, while the Democrats submitted a declaration of principles. They declared the power of the federal government to be limited; opposed a system of internal improvements;

proclaimed that "justice and sound policy forbid the government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or one section to the injury of another;" urged economy; claimed that Congress had no power to charter a United States bank; to interfere with the domestic institutions of the States; that government money must be separated from banking institutions, and that this country is the asylum for the oppressed of all nations. Although, as stated, the Whigs had adopted no platform, they joined issue on the general financial policy of the Van Buren administration, including the position of the Democratic party on the tariff, and protection to the industries of the country. This was the campaign of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," of log cabins, coon skins and hard cider. Harrison and Tyler were triumphantly elected, and the Whigs had a majority in both branches of Congress.

The Whigs nominated Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen in 1844, and the Democrats nominated James K. Polk and George M. Dallas. Both parties outlined their principles in platforms. The Whigs declared for a well regulated national currency; a tariff for revenue, but favoring domestic industry; distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public lands; a single term for the Presidency, and reform of executive usurpation. The Democrats reaffirmed their platform of 1840, and added a declaration against distribution of the proceeds of sales of public lands among the States, a resolution sustaining the President in his right to use the qualified veto, and one declaring that Oregon, which the British were attempting to seize, ought to be reoccupied, and Texas annexed. The Liberty party was also again in the field with James G. Birney for President, and Thomas Morris for Vice-President. The seven resolutions of its platform all related to slavery. Between the two great parties, Whigs and Democrats, the leading questions

were the annexation of Texas and a protective tariff. Polk and Dallas were elected, the result being determined by the vote of New York. The most important events of this administration were the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and the adjustment of the Oregon boundary, not on the line of "fifty-four degrees, forty minutes or fight," but on the line of forty-nine degrees, as proposed by John C. Calhoun when Secretary of State in Tyler's administration.

In 1848 the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The Whigs, at Philadelphia, nominated Gen. Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic platform affirmed that of 1844; congratulated the country on the result of the Mexican War; commended the qualified veto; denounced a tariff, except for revenue; congratulated the Republic of France, and endorsed Polk's administration. The platform hailed "the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842, and the creation of a more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846." The Whigs did not adopt a platform, claiming that their principles were well known. The slavery question was now agitating the country, but neither of the great parties was ready or willing to commit itself. In the Whig convention a test resolution on the "Wilmot Proviso" was voted down.

Free Soil Democrats.

A third party, the Free Soil Democrats, also appeared in the field, with Martin Van Buren for President, and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President. Their opponents called them

"Barnburners," and so named them in allusion to the story of a Dutch farmer, who, it was said, burned his barn in order to clear it of rats and mice. The "Barnburners" were an offshoot of the Democratic party, and mainly confined to the State of New York. They helped to carry that State for Taylor, and thus defeated Cass. The Free Soil Democrats, or "Barnburners," promulgated a lengthy platform, but its essence is embraced in the watchword, or motto which they adopted, to-wit: "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Men." The old Liberty party now united with the "Free Soil Democrats." Taylor and Fillmore were elected, but the Democrats controlled the Senate, with the Free Soilers holding the balance of power in the House. After sixty-two fruitless ballots, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, a slavery extensionist, was elected Speaker, on the sixty-third ballot. This session of Congress witnessed the compromise measures of 1850 on the slavery issue. President Taylor died in July of that year, and the Whig party began to dissolve. The pro-slavery Whigs now favored the doctrine which was afterward known by the name of squatter, or popular sovereignty. They would leave the people of the Territories to decide as to the admission of slavery. Agitation of the slavery question continued. In 1851 and 1852, three of the great party leaders—Calhoun, Clay and Webster, passed away. The Thirty-second Congress, which met in December, 1851, was Democratic in both branches. Fillmore had become President by the death of Taylor in 1850.

In 1852, again at Baltimore, the Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, and William R. King, of Alabama. A Whig National convention in the same city, brought out General Winfield Scott, of Virginia, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina. The Democratic platform said: No more revenue than is necessary to defray

the expenses of the government; no national banks; Congress has no right to interfere with, or control the domestic institutions of the States; endorsement of the compromise measures of 1850. The Whigs in their platform stood for sufficient power in the government to sustain it and make it operative; favored revenue from tariff, framed "with suitable encouragement to American industry;" and internal improvements; endorsed the compromise measures of 1850, including the "Fugitive Slave Law." In August, 1852, the "Free Soil Democrats," as they called themselves, in a national convention at Pittsburg, nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana. They repudiated both the other political parties, and declared for no more slave States, no slave Territory, no national slavery, and no legislation for the extradition of slaves. The six resolutions of their platform all related to the one subject of slavery. The electoral count showed two hundred and fifty-four votes for Pierce and King, and only forty-two for Scott and Graham. The Whig party then ceased to exist. The Democratic party became thoroughly pro-slavery, President Pierce committing it in his first message to the compromise measures. The Thirty-third Congress opened with fourteen Democratic majority in the Senate, and seventy-four over all opposition in the House.

The Know-Nothing Party.

In 1852 appeared the secret organization commonly known in history as the "Know-Nothing" party. Its members were silent as to its principles, and hence the name. Its cardinal principle, as known to themselves, was expressed in their motto —"Americans must rule America." Its countersign was "Put none but Americans on guard." In

1855 this party carried nine States and made its power felt in the congressional elections of that year. It elected forty-three members of the House of the Thirty-fourth Congress, and there were five Senators of the party. The Know-Nothings were the first to nominate national candidates in 1856. Their convention met in Philadelphia, February 22, with two hundred and twenty-seven delegates present, and nominated Millard Fillmore, of New York, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee. A number of anti-slavery delegates withdrew from the convention on account of its failure to maintain the right of Congress to re-establish the Missouri Compromise.

The Democrats in national convention at Cincinnati, nominated James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge. Their platform contained several clauses opposing Americanism; advocating the restriction of revenue to necessary expenses; favoring a strict construction of federal powers; against a national bank; endorsing squatter sovereignty, and approving the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The Republican Party.

Now came into existence the Republican party of to-day. The free States were aroused at last, and at a grand gathering of five thousand opponents of slavery the name "Republican" was adopted for the new party. The first Republican National convention was held at Philadelphia in June, 1856. The nominees for President and Vice-President were John C. Fremont and William M. Dayton. The platform declared for the preservation of the Union of the States; denied the right of Congress to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States; declared that Congress ought to prohibit "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy

and slavery;" denounced the pro-slavery policy of the Pierce administration; demanded the admission of Kansas, with her free State Constitution; favored government aid for a Pacific railroad, and pronounced for a system of National improvements. Buchanan and Breckinridge had one hundred and seventy-four electoral votes, and Fremont and Dayton one hundred and fourteen electoral votes. Fillmore, the "American" candidate, carried Maryland, with eight electoral votes.

The Democrats Divide.

In April, 1860, the Democratic national convention was held in Charleston, South Carolina, and after a long struggle between the extreme and the moderate pro-slavery elements, the convention adjourned without making nominations. At another convention held in Baltimore in June, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, were nominated on a platform of so-called "squatter sovereignty"—that is a platform which proposed to leave to the people of the Territories the decision as to whether they should admit or debar slavery. This compromise course satisfied neither the extreme advocates of slavery nor its sincere antagonists, and the former held another convention, and nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, the Breckenridge wing asserting that the unorganized territory of the United States was open to all kind of property, including slaves.

Lincoln Elected.

The Republicans held their National convention in Chicago in May, nominating Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin. The platform affirmed the principles of the Declaration of Independence;

denounced schemes of disunion; denounced the pro-slavery policy of the Buchanan administration and its extravagance; denounced the dogma that the Constitution carried slavery into the Territories; favored the admission of Kansas as a free State; protection to American industry; a homestead law; a Pacific railroad, and internal improvements. The American party, which had now changed its title to the "Constitutional Union party," held a convention in Baltimore, and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. Their platform affirmed the "Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." The nominations of 1860 were followed, especially throughout the Northern States, by one of the most spirited campaigns in the history of parties in this country, resulting in the election of Lincoln and Hamlin.

The platform of the Republican national convention for 1864 pledged the party to aid the government in the suppression of the rebellion, and to accept no peace not based on the unconditional surrender of all armed rebels. It demanded an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery; pledged the party to the payment of the public debt, and approved the "Monroe Doctrine." The convention renominated Lincoln for President, and recognized the Union men of the South by the nomination of Andrew Johnson for Vice-President. The Democratic national convention in 1864 nominated George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton. The platform declared for union under the Constitution; demanded "after four years' failure to restore the Union by war," the cessation of hostilities, and a peace convention. It denounced the war measures of the administration, and favored the preservation of the rights of the States. The electoral count showed two hundred and twelve votes for Lincoln and Johnson, and twenty-one votes for McClellan and Pendleton.

Secession having been subdued, the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses, strongly Republican, were confronted with many new and untried questions of policy. Before the commencement of Grant's first administration, in March, 1869, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, and other measures of reconstruction had been adopted. The legal tender act of 1862 was one of the issues between the two great parties up to 1870, when the Supreme Court decided in favor of its constitutionality.

Liberal Republicans.

In 1872, another new party, styling itself "Liberal Republican," sprang up, with Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown for President and Vice-President. The Democrats accepted these candidates. The Republican party renominated General Grant, with Henry Wilson for Vice-President. Horace Greeley was overwhelmingly defeated, and died soon after. In 1876, the leading parties were the Republican and Democratic, besides the "Greenback" or Independent party and the Prohibition party, all of which held national conventions, and made nominations for President and Vice-President. The leading principles of the Republican and Democratic parties have already been explained, while the name of "Prohibition party" is a sufficient indication of its aim. The new party known as the "Greenback party," now first appearing as a national organization, demanded the repeal of the "specie resumption act" of January 14, 1875; the United States note, or "greenback," as a circulating medium and legal tender irrespective of coin redemption; the suppression of bank paper and no further issue of gold bonds. In several States the Democrats allied

themselves with this new party, and in some instances the coalition proved successful, but as a national party it failed to carry a single State, although Peter Cooper, its candidate for President, received a popular vote of eighty-one thousand, seven hundred and forty.

Electoral Commission.

The election of 1876 will always be memorable for its violent contentions, its intrigues, corruptions, frauds, its extraordinary procedures, and its result. The Democratic nominees were Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. The Republican candidates were Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and Wm. A. Wheeler, of New York. The controversy and struggle between the rival claimants occupied the closing months of Grant's administration. The dispute as to the result rested chiefly upon the question whether the electoral votes of Louisiana had been justly awarded to Mr. Hayes by the returning board of that State. The electoral votes of four States were, however, in question—South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon. Double returns had been received from them; one set announcing Democratic, the other, Republican electors. If the Democratic return was accepted, Tilden was elected by thirty-seven votes; if the Republican, Hayes was elected by one vote. The Republicans were in power, and held all the offices of Government. The Vice-President *pro tem.*, the presiding officer of the Senate, was a Republican. He was sustained by his party in claiming the right to decide between the lists of the State electors. This would assure the election of Hayes. The Democrats, who had a majority on joint ballot in Congress, denied the claim of the acting Vice-President, and insisted that the determination rested

with the two Houses of Congress. This, if agreed to, would give the Presidency to Tilden. The view of the Vice-President was upheld by the President and his Cabinet. A large body of troops was collected in Washington and its neighborhood, to be ready for any emergency. The Joint Electoral Commission was instituted after long debates, and tedious investigations into the functions of the Vice-President and the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon were accorded to the Republican candidates. This decision was accepted as better than the continuance of hazardous discord. Hayes and Wheeler were declared President and Vice-President by the majority of one electoral vote.

President Hayes withdrew the United States troops from South Carolina and Louisiana in the second month of his administration. In both States there were rival Legislatures and contending claimants for the Governorship and other State offices, and there had been, for some months, danger of violent collisions. General Grant had shown a disposition to remove the troops. He left this duty to be executed by his successor. As soon as it was done, the Democratic Governors,—General Wade Hampton in South Carolina, and General Nicholls in Louisiana—were inaugurated.

Protection to the Front.

In the next national contest (1880), the Republicans declared for "protective duties," and the Democrats for "tariff for revenue only." The Greenback and Prohibition parties were again in the field with national tickets. The electoral result was two hundred and fourteen votes for the Republican candidates, Garfield and Arthur, and one hundred and fifty-five for Hancock and English. The assassination of President Garfield left

the administration in the hands of Vice-President Chester A. Arthur, of New York. The closing year of President Arthur's administration found little change in the situation of parties. The eighth national convention of the Republican party, nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, and John A. Logan, of Illinois. The Democrats named Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. The Republican platform favored a tariff for protection, while the Democrats denounced the tariff then existing, and pledged the party to revise it, as they said, in a spirit of fairness to all interests. The Democrats also declared themselves opposed to sumptuary laws, and favored civil service reform. The Greenback and Prohibition parties presented candidates. The Greenback party nominated—or rather adopted as their candidate for President, Benjamin F. Butler, who had previously been nominated by a national convention of persons styling themselves Anti-Monopolists. The epithet "Mugwump" was now heard for the first time, being applied to that faction of the Republican party, mainly in the State of New York, who claimed for themselves special purity of political methods. The "Mugwumps" in New York, proved as disastrous to the Republican party in 1884 as the "Barnburners" of the same State had to the Democratic in 1848. Cleveland and Hendricks were elected by 219 electoral votes to 182 for Blaine and Logan.

President Cleveland made the tariff the leading issue. He called for a general reduction of duties, and was sustained in the demand by his party, which again put him in nomination in 1888 with Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, for Vice-President. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Levi P. Morton, of New York, were put in nomination by the Republicans on a platform of protection, and were elected, receiving 233 electoral votes to 168 for Cleveland and Thurman.

The Populist Party.

In the election of 1892 a new political party—the People's or Populist—presented a formidable front. It was in reality an outgrowth of the Granger and Farmers' Alliance movement in the West and South, organized to uphold agricultural interests against the alleged oppression of corporations, and especially of railways. The Populist party proved a sort of political cave of Adullam to which the great number of voters, dissatisfied with the old parties, resorted. In the South, Populism stands for the numerous white element which considers that it has been ruled long enough by the aristocratic survivors of the war, and which desires—without changing the existing relations between whites and blacks—to establish greater equality among the whites. In the West the Populists are of all grades of society, and the party is not pent up within any barrier of class. Extravagances on the part of Populist leaders have tended to blind the public to the real importance of the movement, which undoubtedly represents a deep-seated protest against certain evils which have grown to monstrous proportions, and which are becoming more formidable. Whether a remedy can be found within the lines of the old parties, or a new party will come to the front is a question as yet unanswered.

The candidates for President who received electoral votes in 1892 were—Republican, Benjamin Harrison, renominated, and Whitelaw Reid, of New York, for Vice-President; Democratic, Grover Cleveland and Adlai Stevenson, of Illinois; People's party, James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and James G. Field, of Virginia. Cleveland and Stevenson received 277 electoral votes, and were elected President and Vice-President respectively; Harrison and Reid received 145 electoral votes, and Weaver and Field 22 votes.

The President and Riots.

The tariff struggle of 1894 has been elsewhere described. Of far greater interest and consequence as affecting the rights of citizens and the future of the Republic was the action taken by President Cleveland in the suppression of riotous outbreaks in Illinois and other States. The powers and duties of the President of the United States are fully set forth in the Federal Constitution, which also provides that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence." It is also provided in the Constitution that the President "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." The use by order of President Cleveland of United States troops, in the summer of 1894, to suppress the anti-railway riots in Chicago and other parts of the United States, was formally approved in resolutions of Congress, adopted almost unanimously; but evoked a strong protest from the Governor of Illinois, who addressed the President as follows:

"I submit that local self-government is a fundamental principle of our Constitution. Each community shall govern itself so long as it can and is ready and able to enforce the law, and it is in harmony with this fundamental principle that the statute authorizing the President to send troops into States must be construed. Especially is this so in matters relating to the exercise of police power and the preservation of law and order.

"The question of federal supremacy is in no way involved. No one disputes it for a moment, but under our Constitution federal supremacy and local self-government must go hand in hand, and to ignore the latter is to do violence to the Constitution."

President Cleveland briefly replied:

"Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the Constitution and laws of the United States, upon the demand of the Post Office Department that obstruction of the mails should be removed, and upon the representations of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the federal courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof that conspiracies existed against commerce between the States. To meet these conditions, which are clearly within the province of federal authority, the presence of federal troops in the city of Chicago was deemed not only proper but necessary, and there has been no intention of thereby interfering with the plain duty of the local authorities to preserve the peace of the city."

As a similar crisis may arise at any time it may be of interest to quote the law under which the President acted. His authority is derived from section 5298 of the Revised Statutes, enacted July 29, 1891, and section 5299, which became a law April 20, 1871. The former provides that "whenever, by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages of persons, or rebellion against the authority of the Government of the United States, it shall become impracticable, in the judgment of the President, to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the laws of the United States within any State or Territory, it shall be lawful for the President to call forth the militia of any or all the States, and to employ such parts of the land and naval forces of the United States as he may deem necessary to enforce the faithful execution of the laws of the United States, or to suppress such rebellion, in whatever State or Territory thereof the laws of the United States may be forcibly opposed, or the execution thereof forcibly obstructed." Section 5299 is as follows:

"Whenever insurrection, domestic violence,

unlawful combinations, or conspiracies in any State so obstructs or hinders the execution of the laws thereof, and of the United States, as to deprive any portion or class of the people of such State of any of the rights, privileges, or immunities, or protection, named in the Constitution and secured by the laws for the protection of such rights, privileges, or immunities, and the constituted authorities of such State are unable to protect, or, from any cause, fail in or refuse protection of the people in such rights, such facts shall be deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States; and in all such cases, or whenever any such insurrection, violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, opposes or obstructs the laws of the United States, or the due execution thereof, or impedes or obstructs the due course of justice under the same, it shall be lawful for the President, and it shall be his duty, to take such measures, by the employment of the militia or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or by other means, as he may deem necessary, for the suppression of such insurrection, domestic violence, or combinations."

PART XI.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

With Brief Biographical Sketches of each from Washington to Cleveland.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The most exemplary character, perhaps, that ever adorned any era in history, and who received in his life-time the noble appellations of "the Founder of the Republic," and "the Father of his Country," was born in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, on the 22d day of February, 1732. His early instruction was domestic and scanty, but full of good discipline and sound principles; and as his father died when he was only ten years old, he had no subsequent opportunities for acquiring a thorough literary or scientific education. George Washington adopted early in life the profession of a surveyor, and he found agreeable and profitable employment in surveying different parts of his native Virginia. He also directed much of his attention to the science of arms, in the use of which every young man was instructed, in order to repel the incursions of the Indians, who were often led

on by skillful Frenchmen. At the age of nineteen he was appointed one of the adjutant-generals of the colony of Virginia, with the rank of major, and soon after he was advanced to a colonelcy, and sent by Governor Dinwiddie to the Ohio with despatches to the French commander, who was erecting fortifications from Canada to New Orleans, in violation of existing treaties. The Governor was so much pleased with the faithful discharge of this duty, that he ordered Washington's journal to be printed. It afforded evidence of great sagacity, fortitude, and a sound judgment, and firmly laid the foundation of his future fame.

In the Spring of 1755, Washington was persuaded to accompany General Braddock as an aid, with the rank of colonel, in his disastrous expedition against Fort Du Quesne; and had his advice been followed on that occasion, the result would have been very different.

Three years afterward (1758) Washington commanded the Virginians in another expedition against the French, which terminated successfully. At the close of this campaign he left the army, and was soon after married to Mrs. Martha Custis, (the widow of Col. Daniel Parke Custis,) whose maiden name was Dandridge, and whose intelligent and patriotic conduct, as wife and widow, will ever be gratefully remembered in American annals.

In 1759 Washington was elected to the House of Burgesses, and continued to be returned to that body, with the exception of occasional intervals, until 1774, when he was sent to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress. His well-tempered zeal and his military skill, which enabled him to suggest the most proper means for national defence; fixed all eyes upon him, as one well qualified to direct in the hour of peril; and accordingly, after the first scene of the revolutionary drama was opened at Lexington and Concord, and an army had assembled at Cambridge, he was, on the 15th

of June, 1775, unanimously appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces.

After bringing the war to a successful termination, Washington, on the 23d of December, 1783, formally resigned his commission.

In May, 1787, he was elected to the convention which met at Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a constitution, and was at once called upon to preside over its deliberations. After that admirable instrument was adopted by the people, he was unanimously elected the first President of the United States for four years; at the expiration of which, he was unanimously re-elected for a second term. On the 12th of December, 1799, this great man, the august instrument of Divine Providence in the achievement of American independence, was seized with an inflammation in the throat, which grew worse the next day, and terminated his life on the 14th, in the 68th year of his age.

JOHN ADAMS,

SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

And whose fame as a patriot and statesman is imperishable, was born at Braintree, Mass., October 19, 1735. He early displayed superior capacity for learning, and graduated at Cambridge college with great credit. After qualifying himself for the legal profession, he was admitted to practice in 1761, and soon attained that distinction to which his talents were entitled. From the commencement of the troubles with Great Britain, in 1769, he was among the most active in securing the freedom of his country. Being elected to the first Continental

Congress, he took a prominent part in all the war measures that were then originated; and subsequently suggested the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief of the army. He was one of the committee which reported the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the next year visited France as commissioner to form a treaty of alliance and commerce with that country. Although the object had been accomplished before his arrival, his visit had otherwise a favorable effect on the existing position of affairs. At the close of the war he was appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain. In 1785 he was sent to England as the first minister from this country, and on his return was elected first Vice-President, in which office he served two terms, and was then, in 1797, elected to succeed Washington as President. Many occurrences tended to embarrass his administration, and to render it unpopular; but it is now generally admitted to have been characterized by patriotism and vigor equal to the emergencies which then existed. Upon the close of his term, Mr. Adams retired to his farm at Quincy, where his declining years were passed in the gratification of his unabated love for reading and contemplation, and where he was constantly cheered by an interesting circle of friendship and affection. The semi-centennial anniversary of American Independence (July 4, 1826,) was remarkable, not merely for the event which it commemorated, but for the decease of two of the most active participants in the measures by which independence was achieved. On that day, Adams and Jefferson were both gathered to their fathers, within about four hours of each other, "cheered by the benediction of their country, to whom they left the inheritance of their fame, and the memory of their bright example."

President Adams married Abigail Smith, born in Weymouth, Mass., November 23, 1744; died at Quincy, Mass., October 28, 1818.

Thomas Jefferson,

THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Shadwell, Albemarle County, Va., (near Monticello, the seat where he died,) April 13, 1743. He was educated at William and Mary's College, and graduated with distinction when quite young. He was a great lover of learning, and particularly of natural philosophy. With the celebrated George Wythe, he commenced the study of the law, and became a favorite pupil. Mr. Jefferson was never distinguished as an advocate, but was considered a good lawyer. Soon after he came to the bar, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses, and in that body was duly appreciated for his learning and aptitude for business. He at once took fire at British oppression: and in 1774, he employed his pen in discussing the whole course of the British ministry. His work was admired, and made a text-book by his countrymen. In June, 1775, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, from Virginia. In 1776, he was chosen chairman of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence. This instrument is nearly all Jefferson's, and was sanctioned by his coadjutors with few alterations. In 1778, Mr. Jefferson was appointed an envoy to France, to form a treaty with that government, but ill health prevented his acceptance of the mission. He succeeded Patrick Henry, in 1779, as Governor of Virginia, and continued in that station two years. In 1781, he composed his Notes on Virginia. In 1783, he was sent to France, to join the agents of our country, Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin. In 1785, he succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister, and remained in France two years, when he retired, and returned home. In 1789, he was made Secretary of State, under

Washington, in which situation he was highly distinguished for his talents. Mr. Jefferson resigned in 1793. In 1797, he was elected Vice-President of the United States, and took his seat as President of the Senate, on the following 4th of March. In 1801, he was elected President of the United States, which office he held for eight years. After completing his second term, he retired to private life, in which he spent his days in philosophical pursuits, until the 4th of July, 1826, when he expired, just fifty years after penning the Declaration of Independence.

Thomas Jefferson married in 1772 Martha Wayles (Skelton), born in Charles City County, Va., October 19, 1748; died at Monticello, Va., September 6, 1782. She was very beautiful, and was a widow at the time of her marriage to Jefferson.

JAMES MADISON,

FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Orange County, Va., March 16, 1751. His studies, preparatory to entering Princeton College, were pursued under the most accomplished instructors. He was graduated from Princeton with high honor in 1771. On returning to Virginia, he zealously commenced the study of the law, which he subsequently abandoned for political life.

In 1776, Mr. Madison was elected to the General Assembly of Virginia; and from this period, for more than forty years, he was continually in office, serving his State and his country in various capacities, from State legislator to President. In 1778, he was elected to the Executive Council of the State, where he rendered important aid to Henry

and Jefferson, governors of Virginia, and by his probity of character, faithfulness in the discharge of duty, and amiableness of deportment, he won the approbation of these great men. In the winter of 1779-80, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, and became immediately an active and leading member, as the journal of that body abundantly testifies.

In 1784, '5, '6, Mr. Madison was a member of the Legislature of Virginia. In 1787, he became a member of the convention held in Philadelphia, for the purpose of preparing a Constitution for the government of the United States. Perhaps no member of that body had more to do with the formation of that noble instrument, the "Constitution of the United States of America," than Mr. Madison.

It was during the recess between the proposition of the Constitution by the Convention of 1787, and its adoption by the States, that that celebrated work, "The Federalist," made its appearance. This is known to be the joint production of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison. In the same year Mr. Madison was elected to Congress, and held his seat until the Continental Congress passed away. He was a member of the State Convention of Virginia which met to adopt the Constitution, and on the establishment of the new Congress under the Constitution, he was chosen a member, retaining his seat until the close of Washington's administration.

In 1801, as one of the Presidential electors, Mr. Madison had the gratification of voting for his illustrious friend Jefferson, who immediately offered him a place in his cabinet, which was accepted. Accordingly he entered on the discharge of his duties as Secretary of State, which duties he continued to perform during the whole of Mr. Jefferson's administration. On the retirement of Mr. Jefferson in 1809, Mr. Madison succeeded to

the Presidency, in which office he served two terms.

Mr. Madison then retired to his peaceful home in Virginia, where he lived respected by all, until on the twenty-eighth day of June, 1826, the last survivor of the framers of our Constitution was gathered to his fathers, full of years and glory.

President Madison's wife was Dorothy Payne—the beautiful and intellectual "Dolly Madison," who was born in North Carolina, May 20, 1772, and died in Washington, D. C., July 12, 1849.

James Monroe,

FIFTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

One of the few exalted characters that served his country in both a civil and military capacity, was born in Westmoreland County, Va., April 28, 1758, and was educated at William and Mary's College. He was graduated in 1776, and commenced the study of the law. Anxious to aid in the struggle for independence, which had then just begun, he abandoned his studies, and entered the army as a cadet—joining a corps under the gallant General Mercer. Monroe distinguished himself in several well-fought battles, and rapid promotion followed, until he reached the rank of captain. He was at Harlem Heights and White Plains, and shared the perils and fatigues of the distressing retreat of Washington through New Jersey, as well as the glory of the victory over the Hessians at Trenton, where he received a musket-ball in the shoulder; notwithstanding which, he valiantly "fought out

the fight." He subsequently accepted the post of an aide to Lord Stirling, with the rank of major, in which position he saw much hard service—being engaged in almost every conflict for the two succeeding campaigns, and displaying great courage and coolness at the bloody battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth.

Aspiring to a separate command, Monroe obtained permission to raise a regiment in his native State; for which purpose he left the army, and returned to Virginia, where he encountered so many unexpected and discouraging obstacles, that he finally relinquished the enterprise, and resumed his law studies in the office of Mr. Jefferson.

In 1780 Mr. Monroe was elected to the Virginia Legislature, and in the following year was made one of Governor Jefferson's Council, in which he continued until 1783, when, at the age of twenty-four years, he became a member of the Continental Congress. After serving three years in that body, he was again returned to the State Legislature.

In 1788, while a member of the convention to decide upon the adoption of the new Constitution, Mr. Monroe voted in the minority against that instrument; but this vote did not at all affect his popularity. Two years afterward he was elected United States Senator, and in 1794 he was sent as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the French Republic. After settling the cession of Louisiana to the United States, he went to England to succeed Mr. King as Minister at the Court of St. James. The affair of the frigate Chesapeake placing him in an uncomfortable situation, he returned to the United States, and in 1810, was once more elected to the Virginia Legislature. He was soon after chosen Governor of that State, in which office he remained until Mr. Madison called him to assume the duties of Secretary of State in his Cabinet. In 1817, he was elected President of the United States, and in 1821 was unanimously

re-elected, with the exception of a single vote in New Hampshire. His administration was a prosperous and quiet one.

Mr. Monroe united with Jefferson and Madison in founding the University of Virginia; and when the convention was formed for the revision of the constitution of his State, he was called to preside over its action. Not long after this, he went to reside with a beloved daughter (the wife of Samuel L. Gouverneur, Esq.,) in New York city, where he lived until the anniversary of independence in 1831, when, "amidst the pealing joy and congratulations of that proud day, he passed quietly and in glory away."

President Monroe's wife was Elizabeth Kortright, a dignified and accomplished woman, born in New York city in 1768; died in Loudon County, Va., in 1830.

John Quincy Adams.

SIXTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Quincy, Mass., July 11, 1767, and received the advantages of an excellent education before entering Harvard College. After being graduated with marked credit, he commenced the study of law at Newburyport, in the office of the Hon. Theophilus Parsons, for many years afterward Chief Justice of Massachusetts. While pursuing his studies he found leisure to write several newspaper essays, which attracted much attention, and displayed maturity of taste and judgment seldom attained so early in life. In 1794 Washington appointed him minister to the

Netherlands, and subsequently transferred him to Portugal. He was afterward, at different periods, minister to Prussia, Russia, and England; and was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace with Great Britain at Ghent in 1815. In 1817 he was appointed Secretary of State, in which office he continued during Mr. Monroe's administration, eight years; when he was elected by the House of Representatives, President of the United States—the people having failed in making a choice. Like his father, he encountered strong opposition, and only served one term in this office, being defeated in a re-election by General Jackson. Mr. Adams then retired to his farm at Quincy, but did not long remain in private life; for two years afterward, he was chosen representative in Congress, and continued to be re-elected until his death, which occurred in the capitol at Washington, February 23, 1848. Two days previous to this sad event, while engaged in his duties in the House of Representatives, he suffered a paralytic stroke, which apparently deprived him of all consciousness. He was borne to the Speaker's room, where he received every attention that could be bestowed by anxious and devoted friends, but all in vain—his hour was come. The last words he was heard to utter were, "This is the last of earth!"

Mr. Adams was a man of rare gifts and rich acquisitions. A diligent student, and economical of his time, he found opportunity, amidst all his public cares, to cultivate his tastes for literature and the sciences. He was one of the finest classical and belles-lettres scholars of his time, and filled the chair of Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in Harvard College for several years.

President John Quincy Adams' wife was Miss Louisa Johnson, a niece of Thomas Johnson, of Maryland. Their son, Charles Francis Adams, became famous as a diplomatist.

ANDREW JACKSON,

SEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Waxhaw, Lancaster county, S. C., in 1767, and while yet a mere lad, did something toward achieving the independence of his country. It is said that he commenced his military career at the age of fourteen years, and was soon after taken prisoner, together with an elder brother. During his captivity, he was ordered by a British officer to perform some menial service, which he promptly refused, and for this refusal he was "severely wounded with the sword which the Englishman disgraced." He was educated for the bar, and commenced practice at Nashville, Tenn., but relinquished his legal pursuits to "gain a name in arms." In the early part of the war of 1812, Congress having voted to accept fifty thousand volunteers, General Jackson appealed to the militia of Tennessee, when twenty-five hundred enrolled their names, and presented themselves to Congress, with Jackson at their head. They were accepted, and ordered to Natchez, to watch the operations of the British on the lower Mississippi. Not long after Jackson received orders from headquarters, to disband his men, and send them to their homes. To obey, he foresaw, would be an act of great injustice to his command, and reflect disgrace on the country, and he resolved to disobey. He accordingly broke up his camp, and returned to Nashville, bringing all his sick with him, whose wants on the way he relieved with his private means, and there he disbanded his troops in the midst of their homes.

Jackson was soon called to the field once more, and his commission marked out his course of duty on the field of Indian warfare. There for years he labored, and fought, and negotiated, with the extraordinary precedence and undaunted courage.

It was about this time that the treaty of the "Hickory Ground" was framed, which won for him the familiar designation of "Old Hickory."

The crowning glory of Jackson's military career was the battle of New Orleans; which will ever occupy one of the brightest pages in American history. After the war Jackson returned to his home in Nashville. In 1818 he was again called on by his country to render his military services in the expulsion of the Seminoles. His conduct during this struggle has been both bitterly condemned and highly applauded. An attempt in the House of Representatives to inflict a censure on the old hero for the irregularities of the campaign, after a long and bitter debate, was defeated by a large majority.

In 1828, and again in 1832, General Jackson was elected to fill the Presidential chair; thus occupying that elevated position for eight successive years. He then retired to his hospitable mansion ("The Hermitage") near Nashville." He died June 8, 1845.

Andrew Jackson married Rachel Donelson, born in North Carolina in 1767; died at the Hermitage, Tenn., Dec. 22, 1831. The marriage was a peculiar one. She had been married to a man named Robards from whom she separated. Jackson supposing that the husband had got a divorce, married her, but was careful to repeat the marriage ceremony when the divorce was actually procured. He loved his wife and they lived happily.

MARTIN VAN BUREN,

EIGHTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in the flourishing town of Kinderhook, N. Y., September 5, 1782, and early received the best education that could then be obtained in the

schools in his immediate vicinity. Having sufficiently prepared himself for the study of law, he entered the office of Francis Sylvester, in his native town, where he remained about six years. But law did not engross his whole time: he found leisure occasionally to peer into the mysteries of political economy, and finally arrived at the conclusion that his chances for fame and fortune were at least equal in the arena of politics to anything he might accomplish by a strict adherence to legal pursuits. Fully impressed with this idea, he early set about cultivating what little popularity could be gained in his limited sphere, and so won upon the confidence of his neighbors and friends as to be appointed, while yet in his teens, a delegate to a convention in his native county, in which important political measures were to be acted upon.

In 1808 he was appointed surrogate of Columbia county, the first public office he ever held; and in 1812 and 1816 he was elected to the State Senate, in which body he became a distinguished leader of the Madison party, and one of its most eloquent supporters.

In 1821 Mr. Van Buren was elected to the United States Senate, in which he held his seat for nearly eight years, and became remarkable not only for his close attention to business, but also for his devotion to the great principles of the Democratic party.

In 1828 he was elected Governor of his native State, and entered upon the duties of that office on the first of January, 1829; but he filled the gubernatorial chair for only a few weeks. In March following, when General Jackson was elevated to the Presidency, he tendered Mr. Van Buren the post of Secretary of State, which was accepted. At the expiration of two years he resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and was immediately appointed Minister to England; but when his nomination was submitted to the Senate, (June 25, 1831,) it was

rejected by the casting vote of the Vice-President, (Mr. Calhoun,) and of course he was recalled. As his friends attributed his rejection entirely to personal and political rancor, it only served to raise Mr. Van Buren in the estimation of his political adherents; and the result was, that in May following he was nominated with great unanimity for the Vice-Presidency by the Democratic Convention at Baltimore. His triumphant election was regarded not merely as a high compliment to himself, but as a wholesome rebuke to his opponents.

In 1836 Mr. Van Buren was put in nomination for the Chief Magistracy, to which he was elected by a large majority over General Harrison; but at the next Presidential election the tables were turned, and Van Buren only received sixty votes out of two hundred and ninety-four.

After his defeat he returned to Kinderhook, where he remained some time, and then visited Europe, with one of his sons, whose restoration to health was the principal object of his journey.

Mr. Van Buren consented once more to become a candidate for the Presidency, and in 1848 received the nomination of the Free-soil party; but he did not secure a single electoral vote. He died at Kinderhook, New York, July 24, 1862.

President Van Buren's wife was Hannah Hoes, born in Kinderhook, N. Y., in 1782; died in Albany, N. Y., February 5, 1819. She was a domestic and charitable woman.

William Henry Harrison,

NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Charles City County, Va., February 9, 1773, and was educated for the medical profession at Hampden Sydney College. He graduated

at a time when our northwestern frontier was suffering much from the neighboring Indians; and believing that he could be of greater service in repelling the savage invaders than in pursuing his studies, he accepted an ensign's commission from President Washington, and joined the army. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1792, and his skill and bravery were highly commended by General Wayne, under whose command he was engaged in several actions. After the bloody battle of Miami Rapids, he was rewarded with the rank of Captain, and immediately placed in command of Fort Washington. In 1797 he resigned his commission, for the purpose of accepting the office of Secretary of the Northwest Territory, from which he was elected a delegate to Congress in 1799.

When a territorial government was formed for Indiana, Harrison was appointed Governor, and continued in that office till 1813. To his civil and military duties he added those of commissioner and superintendent of Indian affairs; and, in the course of his administration, he concluded thirteen important treaties with the different tribes. On the 7th of November, 1811, he gained the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe, the news of which was received throughout the country with a burst of enthusiasm. During the war of 1812 General Harrison commanded the northwestern army of the United States, and he bore a conspicuous part in the leading events of the campaign of 1812–13, the defence of Fort Meigs, and the victory of the Thames. In 1814, he was appointed, in conjunction with his companions in arms, Governor Shelby and General Cass, to treat with the Indians in the northwest, at Greenville; and, in the following year, he was placed at the head of a commission to treat with various other important tribes.

In 1816, General Harrison was elected a member of Congress from Ohio and, in 1828, he was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of

Colombia. On his return, he took up his residence at North Bend, on the Ohio, where he lived upon his farm in comparative retirement, till 1837, when he became a candidate for the Presidency. Although defeated on the first trial, four years afterward he was elected by a large majority, and inaugurated in 1841. General Harrison did not long survive this crowning honor, as he died on the 4th of April, just one month after entering upon his duties. His funeral obsequies were performed on the 7th, and an immense concourse assembled to pay their testimony of respect. Funeral services and processions also took place in most of the principal cities throughout the country. As General Harrison was the first President who died while in office, his successor, Mr. Tyler, recommended that the 14th of May be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, and accordingly it was so observed.

President William Henry Harrison's wife was Anna Symmes, born near Morristown, N. J., July 25, 1775; died near North Bend, Ohio, February 25, 1864.

JOHN TYLER,

TENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Williamsburg, Va., March 29, 1790, and at the age of twelve years entered William and Mary College, where he graduated with distinguished merit five years afterward. Few have commenced life at so early a period as Mr. Tyler—he having been admitted to the bar when only nineteen, and elected to the Virginia Legislature before attaining his twenty-second year. In 1816 he was sent to Congress; in 1825 he was elected Governor of Virginia, and in 1827 United States

Senator, in which capacity he firmly supported the administration of General Jackson—voting against the tariff bill of 1828, and against re-chartering the United States Bank. Notwithstanding this last vote, the friends of the bank, presuming upon his well-known conservatism, at the special session of Congress called by his predecessor, introduced a bill for the establishment of the "Fiscal Bank of the United States," which passed both houses by small majorities, and which Mr. Tyler felt bound to veto. But this did not dishearten the friends of the measure, who modified and rechristened their financial plan, which, under the name of "Fiscal Corporation of the United States," again passed both houses of Congress, and was again vetoed by the President. Of course, a large portion of the party that elected him were greatly dissatisfied with his course, and their denunciations of his alleged faithlessness were "loud and deep." To add to the embarrassments which surrounded President Tyler, the members of his Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, resigned their places; but even this implied rebuke did not shake his integrity of purpose. An equally efficient phalanx of talent was called to his aid, and he had the satisfaction of seeing that his views were endorsed by a large number of leading statesmen. It has been often asserted that Mr. Tyler had pledged himself to sustain the financial schemes of the bank and its friends; but this has always been denied, and circumstances certainly warrant the conclusion that the assertion is unfounded. So gross and bitter were the assaults made upon him, that he felt called upon to defend himself from their violence; and, after declaring his determination to do his duty, regardless of party ties, he said: "I appeal from the vituperation of the present day to the pen of impartial History, in confidence that neither my motives nor my acts will bear the interpretation which, for sinister

motives, has been placed upon them." On the expiration of his official term, he retired to his estate at Williamsburg. When the people of several Southern States voted for secession Mr. Tyler was elected to the Confederate Congress. He died at Richmond, Va., January 18, 1862, and rests there in an unmarked grave.

President Tyler's first wife was Letitia Christian, born at Cedar Grove, New Kent County, Va., November 12, 1790; died in Washington, D. C., September 9, 1842.

President Tyler married as his second wife Julia Gardiner, born on Gardiner's Island, near Easthampton, N. Y., May 4, 1820; died in Richmond, Va., July 10, 1889.

James Knox Polk,

ELEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Mecklenburg, N. C., November 2, 1795, and there received the rudiments of his early education. In 1806 his father removed to Nashville, Tenn., taking his family with him, and there it was that Mr. Polk pursued those preliminary studies which were requisite to qualify him for the legal profession. After due preparation, he entered the office of the Hon. Felix Grundy, under whose able instruction he made such rapid progress, that he was admitted to practice in 1820. His duties at the bar did not prevent him from taking part in the political affairs of the day; and in this sphere his comprehensive views and zealous devotion to Democracy soon secured him a widely-extended popularity, which resulted in his election to the Legislature of Tennessee in 1823. In 1825, while yet in his thirtieth year, he was chosen a member of Congress, in which body he remained fourteen

years—being honored with the Speakership for several sessions. So well satisfied were his constituents with his Congressional course, that he was elected Governor by a large majority, but some questions of local policy defeated his re-election.

In 1844 Polk was unexpectedly nominated for the office of President of the United States by the Democratic Convention at Baltimore, and, having received sixty-five electoral votes more than the rival candidate, Mr. Clay, he was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845.

Soon after Mr. Polk assumed the reins of government, the country became involved in a war with Mexico, which was little more than a series of victories wherever the American banner was displayed, and which resulted in important territorial acquisitions. The ostensible ground for this war, on the part of Mexico, was the admission of Texas into the Union, which was one of the first acts of Mr. Polk's administration. The Mexicans, however, paid dearly for asserting their claims to Texas as a revolted province, and the prompt and energetic course pursued by Mr. Polk was sanctioned and sustained by a large majority of the people.

But notwithstanding the advantageous issue of the war, the acquisition of Texas, and the satisfactory settlement of several vexed questions of long standing, Mr. Polk was not nominated for a second term—various other reasons leading to the selection of another candidate. Perhaps it was fortunate for the country and for himself that he was permitted to retire to the more congenial enjoyment of private life; for his health had become very much impaired, and he did not long survive after reaching his home in Nashville. He died June 15, 1849.

President Polk's wife was Sarah Childress, born near Murfreesboro, Tenn., September 4, 1803; died in Nashville, Tenn., August 14, 1891. She was a very handsome and well educated woman.

ZACHARY TAYLOR,

TWELFTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Orange County, Virginia, November 24, 1790, and, after receiving an indifferent education, passed a considerable portion of his boyhood amid the stirring scenes which were being enacted at that time on our western border. In 1808 he was appointed a lieutenant in the United States infantry, and subsequently was promoted to a captaincy for his efficient services against the Indians. Soon after the declaration of war in 1812 he was placed in command of Fort Harrison, which he so gallantly defended with a handful of men against the attack of a large body of savages, as to win the brevet rank of major. So familiar did he become with the Indian character, and with the mode of warfare of that wily foe, that his services at the West and South were deemed indispensable in the subjugation and removal of several hostile tribes. While effecting these desirable objects, he was occasionally rewarded for his toils and sacrifices by gradual promotion, and in 1840 attained the rank of brigadier-general. At the commencement of the troubles with Mexico, in 1845, he was ordered to occupy a position on the American side of the Rio Grande, but not to cross that river unless attacked by the Mexicans. He was not, however, allowed to remain long in repose: the enemy, by attacking Fort Brown, which he had built on the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, soon afforded him an opportunity to display his skill and valor, and gloriously did he improve it. The brilliant battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, where he contended successfully against fearful odds, were precursors to a series of victories which have few parallels in military annals. The attack on Matamoras, the storming of Monterey, the sanguinary contest at Buena Vista, and the numerous

skirmishes in which he was engaged, excited universal admiration; and on his return home, after so signally aiding to "conquer a peace" with Mexico, he was everywhere received with the most gratifying demonstrations of respect and affection. In 1848 General Taylor received the nomination of the Whig party for the office of President of the United States, and, being elected, was inaugurated the year following. But the cares and responsibilities of this position were greater than his constitution could endure, hardened as it had been both in Indian and civilized warfare. After the lapse of little more than a year from the time he entered the White House, he succumbed to disease, dying July 9, 1850.

President Taylor's wife, Margaret Smith, was born in Calvert County, Maryland, in 1790. She died near Pascagoula, La., August 18, 1852. She was without social ambition, and took no part in the social duties of the White House, leaving these to her younger daughter, Elizabeth, known as "Miss Betty."

Millard Fillmore,

THIRTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Summer Hill, Cayuga County, N. Y., January 7, 1800, and did not enjoy the advantages of any other education than what he derived from the then inefficient common schools of the county. At an early age he was sent into the wilds of Livingston County to learn a trade, and here he soon attracted the attention of a friend, who placed him in a lawyer's office—thus opening a new, and what was destined to be a most honorable and distinguished career. In 1827 he was admitted as an attorney, and two years afterward as

counsellor in the Supreme Court. Soon attracting attention, he established himself at Buffalo, where his talents and business habits secured him an extended practice.

His first entrance into public life was in January, 1829, when he took his seat as a member of the Assembly from Erie County. At this time he distinguished himself for his untiring opposition to imprisonment for debt, and the people are indebted to him in a great degree for the expunging of that relic of barbarism from the statute book. Having gained a high reputation for legislative capacity, in 1833 he was elected a member of the national House of Representatives. On the assembling of the Twenty-seventh Congress, to which Mr. Fillmore was re-elected by a larger majority than was ever given before in his district, he was placed in the arduous position of Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. The measures he brought forward and sustained, speedily relieved the government from its existing pecuniary embarrassments. In 1847 he was elected Comptroller of the State of New York by a larger majority than had been given to any State officer for many years. In 1848 he was selected as candidate for Vice-President, General Taylor heading the ticket. On his election to that high office, he resigned his place as Comptroller, and entered upon his duties as President of the United States Senate. The courtesy, ability, and dignity exhibited by him, while presiding over the deliberations of that body, received general commendation. Upon the sudden death of General Taylor, Mr. Fillmore became President, and promptly selected a Cabinet, distinguished for its ability, patriotism, and devotion to the Union, and possessing in an eminent degree the confidence of the country.

After serving out the constitutional term, Mr. Fillmore returned to Buffalo, and resumed the practice of law. He died at Buffalo, March 8, 1874.

President Fillmore's wife was Abigail Powers, the daughter of a clergyman, whom he married Feb. 5, 1826. She died three weeks after the close of his administration, having, Irving says, received her death-warrant while standing by his side on the cold marble terrace of the capitol, listening to the inaugural address of Mr. Fillmore's successor.

Franklin Pierce,*

Fourteenth President of the United States,

Was born at Hillsborough, N. H., November 23, 1804, and early received the advantage of a liberal education. After going through a regular collegiate course at Bowdoin College, which he entered at the age of sixteen, he became a law student in the office of Judge Woodbury at Portsmouth, whence he was transferred to the law school at Northampton, where he remained two years, and then finished his studies with Judge Parker at Amherst. Although his rise at the bar was not rapid, by degrees he attained the highest rank as a lawyer and advocate.

In 1829 Mr. Pierce was elected to represent his native town in the State Legislature, where he served four years, during the last two of which he held the speakership, and discharged the duties with universal satisfaction.

From 1833 to 1837 Mr. Pierce represented his State in Congress, and was then elected to the United States Senate, having barely reached the

* For the sketches of the Presidents from George Washington to Franklin Pierce, inclusive, I am largely indebted to "Wells' National Handbook," a patriotic work published at the time of the civil war. For the idea of appending sketches of the wives of the married Presidents I am indebted to "The Presidents of the United States, edited by General James Grant Wilson, and published by D. Appleton & Co., from which admirable work I have also taken the data regarding those ladies.—H. M.

requisite age to qualify him for a seat in that body. Mr. Pierce was re-elected at the expiration of his senatorial term, but resigned his seat the year following for the purpose of devoting himself exclusively to his legal business, which had become so extensive as to require all his attention.

In 1846 Mr. Pierce declined the office of Attorney-General, tendered to him by President Polk; but when the war with Mexico broke out, he was active in raising the New England regiment of volunteers; and afterward accepted the commission of brigadier-general. General Pierce at once repaired to the field of operations, where he distinguished himself in several hard-fought battles. At Cerro-Gordo and at Chapultepec he displayed an ardor in his country's cause which extorted praise from his most inveterate political opponents; and on his return home he was everywhere received with gratifying evidence that his services were held in grateful remembrance by the people.

The Democratic Convention held in Baltimore in 1852, after trying in vain to concentrate their votes on a more prominent candidate, unexpectedly nominated General Pierce for the office of President of the United States, to which he was elected by an unprecedented majority over his rival, General Scott—receiving 254 votes out of 296. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1853. His administration was more remarkable for its futile attempts to reconcile conflicting interests, than for the achievement of any particular measure of great public utility. Mr. Pierce died in Concord, N. H., October 8, 1869.

The wife of President Pierce was Jane Means Appleton, born in Hampton, N. H., March 12, 1806; died in Andover, Mass., December 2, 1863.

JAMES BUCHANAN,

FIFTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. His father, of the same name, was an Irishman who had, eight years before, emigrated from Donegal, and had become a well-to-do farmer. The son completed his education at Dickinson College, Carlisle, and took his degree in 1809. He then applied himself to the study of law, was admitted to the bar in 1812, and settled at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania.

In the great struggle between President Jackson and the party headed by Mr. Calhoun, Buchanan warmly defended the President and his claims. In the first years of the movement against slavery he saw the large results which were likely to follow, and desired to suppress the agitation in its infancy, and to do this by suppressing the discussion of the subject in Congress. He advocated the recognition by Congress of the independence of Texas, and at a later time its annexation. During the presidency of Van Buren, Buchanan greatly distinguished himself in support of the principal measure of the government—the establishment of an independent treasury. In 1845 he was appointed Secretary of State under President Polk; and at the close of his term of office in 1849, he retired to private life. Four years later he accepted from President Pierce the post of United States Minister to Great Britain.

He returned from England in 1856, and the same year was nominated as Democratic candidate for the Presidential chair. For a short time there seemed to be ground for hope that political passions and excitement would subside. But this hope was soon found to be fallacious. The troubles in Kansas and the large questions involved in them gave rise to new discussions and division. The

President gave his support to the pro-slavery party, and dissensions grew during his administration to such an extent that disruption and war between North and South followed the election of his successor, President Lincoln. From the close of his administration in 1860 until his death, Buchanan led a retired life. He died at Wheatland, in Pennsylvania, June 1, 1868. Two years before his death he published an account of his administration.

President Buchanan was never married.

Abraham Lincoln,

THE SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809, of poor and struggling parents. His father, Thomas Lincoln, was somewhat shiftless, but his mother was a woman of superior intellect, who did all she could for her children. She died when Abraham was about nine years of age. The family cabin was in a wild region with little opportunity for even the most ordinary education, but Lincoln learned all that the backwoods teachers could impart. When nineteen years of age he could write clearly and correctly, and showed such business capacity that he was intrusted with cargoes of farm products which he took to New Orleans and sold. In 1830 Lincoln's father emigrated to Macon County, Illinois. Lincoln was now six feet four inches in height and of immense muscular strength. He assisted his father to build a cabin, split rails, and clear the ground for planting. This being accomplished Abraham sought other employment, using his leisure time, as before, in constant reading. He learned the elements of

English grammar and began to study the principles of law. When the Black Hawk war broke out Lincoln served for about three months, being mustered out by Lieutenant Robert Anderson, who afterward commanded at Fort Sumter when the shots were fired that opened the rebellion. The young man was resolved not to stay in the ruts and he obtained a nomination for the legislature. He was defeated, but received a good number of votes, including nearly all from his own neighborhood. He now thought seriously of becoming a blacksmith, but concluded to buy out a store, giving his notes for the stock. The business was ruined by a worthless partner, but Lincoln faithfully met the notes in full, enduring much hardship and privation to do so. In August, 1834, he was at length elected to the legislature, and was re-elected until 1840. He took rank from the first among the leading members of that body, and having acquired some knowledge of law he removed to Springfield, Ill., and entered into a law partnership. In 1846 Mr. Lincoln was elected to Congress. He was not a candidate for re-election at the close of his term, but was recognized everywhere as the leader of the Whig party in Illinois. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused all the energies of his nature, and his eloquent protests against that breach of faith evoked a responsive echo throughout the West. When the Republican party was organized Lincoln became its chief in Illinois, and when in 1858 Senator Douglas sought a re-election to the Senate the Republicans put Lincoln forward as his antagonist. Their "joint discussions" are historic. They dealt with the question of slavery and excited interest throughout the whole country. In brief they introduced the United States to the future President. In May, 1860, Mr. Lincoln was nominated for President by the Republicans on the third ballot, William H. Seward, of New York, being his principal competitor. Thenceforward Abraham

Lincoln was a part of the nation's life, and his history, down to the day of his death, April 15, 1865, from an assassin's cowardly shot, is the history of the civil war. Of Lincoln's character Robert G. Ingersoll has eloquently said:

"Hundreds of people are now engaged in smoothing out the lines of Lincoln's face, forcing all features to the common mold, so that he may be known, not as he really was, but, according to their poor standard, as he should have been. Lincoln was not a type. He stands alone, no ancestors, no fellows and no successors. He had the advantage of living in a new country, of social equality, of personal freedom, of seeing in the horizon of his future the perpetual star of hope. He preserved his individuality and his self-respect. He knew and mingled with men of every kind; and, after all, men are the best books. He became acquainted with the ambitions and hopes of the heart, the means used to accomplish ends, the springs of action and the seeds of thought. He was familiar with nature, with actual things, with common facts. He loved and appreciated the poem of the year, the drama of the season.

"Lincoln was an immense personality; firm, but not obstinate. Obstinacy is egotism; firmness, heroism. He influenced others without effort, unconsciously, and they submitted to him as men submit to nature, unconsciously. He was severe with himself, and for that reason lenient with others. He appeared to apologize for being kinder than his fellows. He did merciful things as stealthily as others committed crimes. Almost ashamed of tenderness, he said and did the noblest words and deeds with that charming confusion, that awkwardness that is perfect grace of modesty.

"He was an orator, clear, sincere, natural. He did not pretend. He did not say what he thought others thought, but what he thought. He knew others, because perfectly acquainted with himself.

He cared nothing for place, but everything for principle; nothing for money, but everything for independence. Where no principle was involved, easily swayed, willing to go slowly, if in the right direction, sometimes willing to stop, but he would not go back, and he would not go wrong. He was willing to wait. He knew that the event was not waiting, and that fate was not the fool of chance. He knew that slavery had defenders but no defence, and that they who attack the right must wound themselves. He was neither tyrant nor slave. He neither knelt nor scorned. With him men were neither great nor small; they were right or wrong. Through manners, clothes, titles, rags and race he saw the real. Beyond accident, policy, compromise and war he saw the end. He was patient as Destiny, whose undecipherable hieroglyphs were so deeply graven on his sad and tragic face.

"Nothing discloses real character like the use of power. It is easy for the weak to be gentle. Most people can bear adversity. But if you wish to know what a man really is, give him power. This is the supreme test. It is the glory of Lincoln that, having almost absolute power, he never abused it, except upon the side of mercy.

"Wealth could not purchase, power could not awe this divine, this loving man. He knew no fear except the fear of doing wrong. Hating slavery, pitying the master, seeking to conquer not persons but prejudices, he was the embodiment of the self-denial, the courage, the hope, and the nobility of a Nation. He spoke, not to inflame, not to upbraid, but to convince. He raised his hands, not to strike, but in benediction. He longed to pardon. He loved to see the pearls of joy on the cheeks of a wife whose husband he had rescued from death. Lincoln was the grandest figure of the fiercest civil war. He is the gentlest memory of our world."

President Lincoln's wife was Mary Todd, born in Lexington, Ky., December 12, 1818; died in

Springfield, Ill., July 16, 1882. She belonged to a family regarded as socially far above Lincoln, and had several excellent suitors; but she saw the worth of Lincoln, and accepted him. She never recovered from the shock of her husband's tragic death.

ANDREW JOHNSON,

SEVENTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Raleigh, N. C., December 29, 1808. He died near Carter's Station, Tenn., July 31, 1875. His parents were very poor, and his father died when he was four years old. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to a tailor. He learned the alphabet from those employed with him. Johnson moved to Greenville, Tenn., and was fortunate in his marriage to an intelligent woman, Eliza McCardle, who taught him to write, and read to him when he was at work.

In Tennessee, Johnson acquired prominence as a champion of the people against the land-holding aristocracy. He became Mayor of Greenville, and was afterward elected to the legislature, and in 1843 to Congress, and remained in Congress for ten years, when he was thrown out by the "gerrymandering" of district lines. Johnson was next elected Governor, and so earnestly advocated measures for the benefit of workingmen that he was known as the "Mechanic Governor." In 1857, he was elected to the United States Senate, where he strongly supported the Union cause, although he did not antagonize slavery. His unyielding opposition to secession won for him popularity in the North, as well as among the Unionists of the border States. He supported a vigorous prosecution of the war, and was appointed Military

Governor of Tennessee by President Lincoln, March, 1862.

Although Johnson had always been a Democrat, except in so far as his Unionist course estranged the dominant wing of the party from him, the Republicans nominated him for Vice-President in 1864, and when Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, Johnson became President. In that office, he soon offended the Republican majority in Congress by the veto of party measures of reconstruction, and his defiance of the Tenure-of-Office Act was made a ground for impeachment.

Thirty-five Senators voted for conviction, and nineteen for acquittal, and the vote for conviction lacking one of two-thirds, the President stood acquitted. After the expiration of his term, he went back to Tennessee. He was elected to the Senate in January, 1875, and died near Carter's Station, Tenn., July 31, 1875.

If ever a wife made a husband, Eliza McCardle made Andrew Johnson by helping him to develop his really great abilities. She was born in Leesburg, Washington County, Tenn., October 4, 1810, and died in Home, Greene County, Tenn., January 15, 1876. She appeared little in society.

Ulysses Simpson Grant,

EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, April 17, 1822. He was descended from Scottish ancestors, but his progenitors for eight generations had been Americans. His father owned a tannery, but Ulysses preferred work on the farm. He attended the village school, and in 1839 was appointed a cadet in the United States Military Academy at West Point. His name had

originally been Hiram Ulysses, but it was entered erroneously at the Academy, and the family acquiesced in the error. Grant graduated in 1843, twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine. Although this was not a high position, the writer is informed that Grant's abilities made an impression on at least one fellow-cadet who afterward joined the Confederacy. As a second lieutenant, Grant behaved gallantly in the Mexican War, and was afterward promoted to captain. He resigned his commission July 31, 1854, and settled on a small farm near St. Louis. Later, he became a clerk in his father's hardware and leather store at Galena, Ill. He offered his services to the National Government at the opening of the war, but received no answer. June 17, 1861, he was appointed Colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Regiment of infantry, and on August 7, he was promoted to Brigadier-General. His career during the civil war cannot, of course, be recited here. He was one of the great generals of the century, and he proved this at a time when the Confederacy was in the zenith of its power and resources, as well as when he was pressing on relentlessly to Richmond. General Grant was elected President in 1868, and served two terms—until March 4, 1877.

The trouble between President Johnson and Congress prevented reconstruction from making much progress until Grant took charge of affairs. His administration witnessed the award of $15,500,000 for Anglo-Confederate depredations, by the Geneva Tribunal, and was distinguished also by the financial panic in 1873. When Horace Greeley, Democratic and Liberal Republican nominee for the Presidency in 1872, died a few days after the election, President Grant attended the obsequies. The President suppressed with a firm hand disorders in Louisiana which amounted almost to civil war. The close of his administration was made memorable by the Hayes-Tilden Presidential

controversy. In private life, General Grant was unfortunate, being victimized by dishonest partners. He died of cancer, at Mount McGregor, July 23, 1885.

Mrs. Julia Dent Grant survives her famous husband. She was born in St. Louis, Mo., January 26, 1826, being descended from the brave Captain George Dent, who led the forlorn hope at the storming of Fort Montgomery in the Revolution. Captain Grant married her August 22, 1848. Mrs. Grant was a devoted wife and mother. She saw her husband twice inaugurated as President, and accompanied him in his journey around the world. Mrs. Grant resides in Washington.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes,

nineteenth president of the united states,

Was born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. He was educated in the common schools, and was sent afterward to an academy and to Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. On his graduation in August, 1842, he was awarded the valedictory oration, which he delivered with credit. He afterward entered the law school of Harvard University, and finished his studies there in January, 1845. He subsequently settled in Cincinnati, and was for some time city solicitor. He had strong anti-slavery feelings, and became captain of a military company promptly after the firing upon Fort Sumter. June 7, 1861, he was appointed major of the 23rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and on September 19, in the same year, he was appointed by General Rosecrans judge advocate of the Department of Ohio. Promoted to lieutenant-colonel in October, 1861, his gallantry at South Mountain, where he led a charge while severely wounded, won for Hayes the

rank of colonel, September 14, 1862, and as Colonel Hayes he did valuable service for over two years, ever distinguished for his courage and intrepidity, and always at the post of danger when it was the post of duty. He won the rank of brigadier-general at Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864, and on March 13, 1865 he received the rank of brevet major-general. In December of the same year he took his seat in Congress. In 1867 General Hayes was elected Governor of the State, although the Democrats carried the legislature. He was re-elected Governor in 1869. In 1875 General Hayes was again elected Governor on a sound money platform, and in 1876 he was nominated for President by the Republicans, against Samuel J. Tilden, Democrat. The Electoral Commission appointed to consider the disputed returns reported in favor of General Hayes, and he became President. His administration was chiefly marked by the withdrawal of United States troops from the Southern States, whice were thus enabled to assume complete local self-government, and also by the resumption of specie payments in 1879. After his term as President, General Hayes retired to private life. He died at his home in Fremont, Ohio, January 17, 1893.

The wife of President Hayes was Lucy Ware Webb, born in Chillicothe, Ohio, August 28, 1831; died in Fremont, Ohio, June 25, 1889. Mrs. Hayes was distinguished for her interest in temperance work.

James Abram Garfield,

TWENTIETH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, November 19, 1831. His father was of Puritan ancestry, and his mother was of Huguenot descent.

The mother was left a widow with four small children, of whom James was the youngest. His early life was spent in poverty, but the mother was a brave and conscientious woman, and never lost heart in the struggle to support her little ones. James A. Garfield went to school in a log-hut, where he learned to read, and at ten years of age he helped his mother by working at home or for neighbors. When not working, he was reading. For some months he drove a boat on the Ohio Canal, and he also learned the trade of carpenter. Young Garfield eagerly sought higher education, and saved money to enter college. After studying at the Hiram Eclectic Institute, Portage County, Ohio, Garfield came East and entered Williams College in the autumn of 1854. He was duly graduated with the highest honors in the class of 1856. On his return to Ohio, he became teacher at Hiram Institute, and afterward its president, and he also pursued the study of law. When war came, Garfield did not hesitate. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the Forty-second Regiment of Ohio Volunteers, in August, 1861, and a few months later was placed in command of a brigade in active service. He proved himself a gallant soldier, and his victory over the Confederates at Middle Creek won him a commission as brigadier-general. As chief of staff to General Rosecrans, then in command of the Army of the Cumberland, General Garfield was instrumental in carrying the information to General Thomas which saved the army, and prevented Chickamauga from being an overwhelming defeat for the Union troops. For this action Garfield was promoted to major-general, September 19, 1863. He had been elected to Congress fifteen months before, and at the urgent request of President Lincoln, he resigned his commission to uphold the arms of the President in Washington. He remained in Congress, earning a high reputation as a statesman and party

leader, until elected United States Senator in 1880, to take his seat March 4, 1881. In June, 1880, however, General Garfield was nominated for President by the Republican party, and elected over his competitor, General Winfield Scott Hancock. He therefore entered the White House instead of the Senate. On July 2, 1881, President Garfield was shot by Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker. President Garfield was taken to Elberon, N. J., in the hope that the change would benefit him, and died there, September 19, the same year.

President Garfield's wife, Lucretia Rudolph, was born April 19, 1832, in Hiram, Portage County, Ohio. She met her husband when they were both students at Hiram, and they were married November 11, 1858. Of their seven children, five are living.

Chester Alan Arthur,

TWENTY-FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Fairfield, Franklin County, Vermont, October 5, 1830. His father was the Reverend William Arthur, a Baptist clergyman, of North of Ireland descent, and his mother was Malvina Stone, of American pioneer ancestry. Young Arthur had a good education, and his early life was not attended by any serious trials. At eighteen years of age he was graduated from Union College, and in 1853 he came to New York city and began the study of law. The Rev. Mr. Arthur was a strong opponent of slavery and this feeling was as strong in his son. The young lawyer acted as counsel for fugitive slaves, defending their claims to liberty, and he upheld the right of the colored

people to ride in the street-cars. Mr. Arthur left the Whig party for the Republican, and took an active part in behalf of Fremont, in the campaign of 1856. In 1861 Governor Edwin D. Morgan appointed Mr. Arthur on his staff as engineer-in-chief with the rank of brigadier-general, and when war began General Arthur, as acting quartermaster-general, began preparing the troops in New York city for the field. On February 10, 1862, he was appointed inspector-general, and he inspected the New York troops at Fredericksburg and on the Chickahominy. In July of the same year Governor Morgan appointed General Arthur quartermaster-general. General Arthur went out of office when Governor Horatio Seymour, Democrat, succeeded Governor Morgan, but his administration of the quartermaster-general's department received high commendation from his successor. General Arthur thenceforward devoted himself to law practice until appointed Collector of the port of New York in November, 1872. General Arthur's administration of the Collector's office was made the object of harsh political attack and searching investigation, with the view of obtaining ground for his removal by President Hayes, but the evidence showed that the affairs of the custom-house had been conducted with honesty and efficiency. After r tiring from the collectorship General Arthur resumed law practice until elected Vice-President with General Garfield in 1880. Upon the assassination of Garfield, Arthur succeeded to the Presidency. His administration earned general approval. His course was moderate, discreet and dignified, and he retired from the White House with the warm esteem of many who had been bitterly opposed to him when they knew less about him. General Arthur died in New York city, November 18, 1886.

General Arthur's wife, Ellen Lewis Herndon, was the daughter of Commander William Lewis

Herndon, of the United States navy. She died January 12, 1880, the year before her husband became President. President Arthur's sister, Mrs. Mary Arthur McElroy, acted as mistress of the White House for her distinguished brother.

Grover Cleveland,

TWENTY-SECOND AND TWENTY-FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Caldwell, Essex County, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. His father, the Rev. Richard Falley Cleveland, a Presbyterian clergyman, was of old New England descent. His mother was the daughter of a Baltimore merchant named Neal, of Irish birth. Mr. Cleveland's full name was Stephen Grover Cleveland, but the Stephen was dropped at an early period in his career. Young Cleveland had some schooling in academies. For awhile he was clerk in a country store, and later he became clerk and assistant teacher in a New York institution for the blind. In 1855 he started to go west to Cleveland, Ohio, in search of employment. At Buffalo he called upon a relative by marriage, Lewis F. Allen, a well-known and influential citizen. Mr. Allen, who died recently at about ninety years of age, related the story of young Cleveland's visit to the editor of this Hand Book, some years ago. Young Cleveland appeared at the house with a bundle under his arm and told Mr. Allen he was going West. Mr. Allen advised him to remain in Buffalo, adding that the youth could make his home with Mr. Allen until he could find something to do. Cleveland consented to remain, and assisted Mr. Allen in preparing the "American Herd-Book," doing his work at the very desk at which the writer was sitting during the conversation. In 1855 Mr.

Cleveland obtained a place as clerk and copyist for the law firm of Rogers, Bowen and Rogers, in Buffalo, receiving four dollars a week for his work during the autumn of that year. He was admitted to the bar in 1859, but remained three years longer with the firm as managing clerk. He was appointed assistant district attorney of Erie County in 1863, and in 1865 was Democratic candidate for district attorney. Mr. Cleveland was defeated. In 1870 he was elected Sheriff of Erie County. At the expiration of his three years' term he formed a law partnership with Lyman K. Bass, the Republican who had defeated him for district attorney, the firm being Bass, Cleveland & Bissell. In 1881 Mr. Cleveland was elected Mayor of Buffalo by the largest majority ever given to a candidate in that city. He used the veto vigorously, and won general commendation. In 1882 Mr. Cleveland was nominated for Governor by the Democrats, and he was elected by the tremendous plurality of 192,854 over Judge Charles J. Folger, his Republican competitor. In 1884 Governor Cleveland was nominated by the Democrats for the office of President against James G. Blaine, of Maine, and after a most exciting contest Mr. Cleveland was elected, receiving 219 electoral votes to 182 for Mr. Blaine. He made "tariff reform" the chief aim of his administration and the leading issue of his party. Renominated in 1888 he was defeated by the Republican candidate, General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana. Mr. Cleveland then made his residence in New York city, where he became connected with a prominent law firm. After a bitter contest in his party Mr. Cleveland was renominated in 1892, and re-elected, defeating Mr. Harrison. The strength of Mr. Cleveland as a statesman is in his ability to touch a popular chord at the right time. He says right out what others are thinking, and his courage cannot fail to command the respect even of his most hostile critics.

President Cleveland married, June 2, 1886, Frances Folsom, daughter of the late Oscar Folsom, and born in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1864. She is the first wife of a President married in the White House. A letter of President Cleveland, containing eloquent testimony to the happiness of his married life, was recently made public.

Benjamin Harrison,

TWENTY-THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born August 26, 1833, at North Bend, Ohio, being the son of John Scott Harrison and the grandson of William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States. His great grandfather, Benjamin Harrison, was a delegate from Virginia to the Congress which made the Declaration of Independence. The father of ex-President Harrison was a well-to-do farmer, and young Harrison assisted in work on the farm. He had a log school-house education to begin with, and when fifteen years old he went to Farmers' (now Belmont) College, at College Hill, a suburb of Cincinnati. He afterward became a student at Miami University, and there became acquainted with Miss Caroline L. Scott, whom he married before he was twenty-one years of age. He graduated fourth in his class in 1852, and studied law with Storer & Gwynne, of Cincinnati. In 1853 he was admitted to the bar, and in 1854 he put up his sign as an attorney in Indianapolis, where he has ever since resided. He had a hard struggle to gain a foothold, but by conscientious and constant attention to business he gradually won his way to a good practice, and became widely known as a skillful and successful practitioner.

When the war broke out Mr. Harrison was mustered into service as colonel of the Seventieth

Regiment of Indiana infantry volunteers, and served with great credit throughout the war, first as regimental and afterward as brigade commander, being present at the surrender of General Johnston's army at Durham's Station, North Carolina, April 26, 1865. In 1876 General Harrison was defeated as Republican candidate for Governor. He made a brilliant canvass of Indiana and other States in the Garfield campaign, and President Garfield offered General Harrison a place in his cabinet, which he declined. General Harrison was elected United States Senator in 1882, and served until 1887. His course in the Senate strengthened him with his party and with the country, and he was selected as the most eligible candidate for the Presidency in 1888. In the campaign which followed Mr. Harrison added to the reputation which he had previously gained as one of the best orators of the age. He has no superior and perhaps no equal in pithy, effective and graceful deliverance in the forum and on the platform. Englishmen have read, as Americans have heard and read, his speeches with admiration.

As President, Mr. Harrison upheld with firmness and dignity the honor of the nation abroad, while he attended with equal fidelity to the interests of the people at home. In his management of the Chilian controversy he was sustained by Congress without regard to party. During the first two years of the administration six new States formed constitutions and were admitted into the Union. They were North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Montana, Idaho and Wyoming.

President Harrison exhibited from the beginning a desire to strengthen the United States navy. Reciprocal treaties were made not only with the countries of South and Central America, but with leading governments of Europe, resulting in a much freer admission than heretofore of American products for consumption in Germany, Austria, France

and Spain. The laws and regulations relating to civil service were widened and extended and faithfully enforced, not only according to their letter, but in accordance with their spirit as shown by the order which allowed only skilled mechanics to work on the new war vessels. The principal event of Mr. Harrison's administration, however, was the passage of the McKinley law. A few days before the election of 1892 a great sorrow came upon Mr. Harrison in the loss of the wife who had been the companion of his struggles and successes. Upon retiring from the Presidency General Harrison was engaged by the late Senator Stanford to deliver a course of lectures at the Leland Stanford, Jr., University, in California, on constitutional law. The circumstances of President Harrison's marriage have already been mentioned. His wife Caroline Lavinia Scott, was born in Oxford, Ohio, October 1, 1832, and died in Washington, D. C., October 25, 1892.

Congress in 1886 passed a bill, which was duly approved and became law, providing that, if at any time there should be no President or Vice-President the office of President should devolve upon a member of the Cabinet, the order of succession being as follows: The Secretaries of State, Treasury and War, the Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior.

PART XII.

THE LATEST NATIONAL PLATFORMS.

REPUBLICAN—DEMOCRATIC—POPULIST—PROHIBITIONIST.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM ADOPTED AT MINNEAPOLIS.

"The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible Republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the Nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

Protection.—"We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress. We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal

to the difference between wages abroad and at home. We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890. We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

Reciprocity.—"We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican Administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

Silver.—"The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

Free Ballot and Fair Count.—"We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public

elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

Southern Outrages.—"We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

Foreign Relations.—"We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships and the creation of a Navy for the protection of our National interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all the foreign Powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen. We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense. We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

Miscellaneous.—"We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employés of transportation companies engaged in carrying on interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employés engaged in State commerce, and in mining and manufacturing.

"The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or

nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of Home Rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

"The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of Church and State.

Trusts.—"We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized in trust or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

Post Office Reforms.—"We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post Office Department and the highest class of postal service.

Civil Service.—"We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the Civil Service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

Nicaragua Canal.—"The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of National defence and to build up and maintain American

commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

Territories.—"We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

Arid Lands.—"We favor cession, subject to the Homestead Laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

Columbian Exposition.—"The World's Columbian Exposition is a great National undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharge of the expenses and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the Nation.

Intemperance.—"We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Pensions.—"Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the Nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

Harrison's Administration.—"We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the Nation at home and abroad have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT CHICAGO.

"The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in National convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government through the accession to power of the party that advocates them, and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular government based on home rule and individual liberty was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

Elections Bill.--"We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of federal control of elections, to which the Republican party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizens even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place armed with federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States, subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power and the reviving of race antagonisms now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all, a measure deliberately and justly described

by a leading Republican Senator as 'the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate.' Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first intrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved rights of the people to resist oppression which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls, but in contempt of that verdict the Republican party has defiantly declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force bill, and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States. Believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity; and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure which, in the short space of two years, has squandered an enormous surplus, emptied an overflowing Treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

Tariff.—"We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall

be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered. We denounce the McKinley Tariff law enacted by the LIst Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we endorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive feature in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of the laboring man to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act. We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth, in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

Reciprocity.—"Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to

establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the rich and the countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our people.

Trusts.—"We recognize in the trusts and combinations which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade, but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

Public Lands.—"The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred million acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

Silver.—We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters,

as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payments of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenceless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Banking.—"We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent tax on State bank issues be repealed.

Civil Service.—"'Public office is a public trust.' We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National convention of 1876 for the reform of this civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

Foreign Policy.—"The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling

respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our neighbors on the American continent, whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defence, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

Foreign Oppression.—"This country has always been the refuge of oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience sake—and in the spirit of the founders of our government we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interests of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means to use its prompt and best effort to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar, and to secure to the oppressed equal rights. We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

Immigration.—"We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as a dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration or the importation of foreign workmen under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

Pensions.—"This convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the

soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents, but we demand that the work of the Pension Office shall be done industriously, impartially, and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful and dishonest.

Waterways.—"The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tidewater. When any waterway of the public is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the government, that such aid should be extended, in a definite plan of continuous work, until permanent improvement is secured.

Nicaragua Canal.—"For purposes of National defence, the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

World's Fair.—"Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a National undertaking of vast importance in which the General Government has invited the co-operation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation so extended, and the broadest liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provisions as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the National honor and public faith.

Public Schools.—"Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic

party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education being an essential of civil and religious liberty, as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of a fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

Territories.—"We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bona fide* residents of the Territory or district in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

Labor.—"We favor legislation by Congress and State Legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employes and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage workers. We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

Miscellaneous.—"We are opposed to all sump-

tuary law as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen. Upon this statement of principles and policies the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party, in order that there might be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance unimpaired of institutions under which the Republic has grown great and powerful."

The Platform, as reported from the Committee on Resolutions, contained this declaration, as the first paragraph of Sec. 3, with the heading "Revenue Tariffs:"

"We reiterate the oft-repeated doctrines of the Democratic party that the necessity of the government is the only justification for taxation, and whenever a tax is unnecessary it is unjustifiable; that when custom-house taxation is levied upon articles of any kind produced in this country, the difference between the cost of labor here and labor abroad, when such a differance exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor, and the enormous additional impositions of the existing tariff fall with crushing force upon our farmers and workingmen, and for the mere advantage of the few whom it enriches, exact from labor a grossly unjust share of the expenses of the government, and we demand such a revision of the tariff laws as will remove their iniquitous inequalities, lighten their oppressions and put them on a constitutional and equitable basis. But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come

to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution of this plain dictate of justice."

On motion of Lawrence T. Neal, of Ohio, the above paragraph was struck from the Platform and the following substituted:

"We denounce Republican Protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and to collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered."

The People's Party Platform.

"Assembled upon the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's Party of America, in their first National convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, puts forth, in the name and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and declaration of principles:

"The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation. We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the Bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled,

public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind, and the possessors of these in turn despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

"The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt, payable in legal tender currency, has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people. Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry.

"A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forbodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism. We have witnessed, for more than a quarter of a century, the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious

effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives and children, on the altar of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

"Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand general and chieftain who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of the 'plain people' with whose class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the National Constitution, to form a more perfect union, and establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity. We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood of freedom.

"Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world; our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must within a few weeks or months be exchanged for billions of dollars' worth of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply

is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that, if given power, we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation, in accordance with the terms of our platform. We believe that the powers of government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

"While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions —important as they are—as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions depends; and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a Republic to administer, before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered; believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is righted, and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country, we declare, therefore,

"1. That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind.

"2. Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. 'If any will not work, neither shall he eat.' The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

"3. We believe that the time has come when the

railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads; and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the National Administration by the use of such additional government employees.

Money.—"1. We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the General Government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations; a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

"(*a*) We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

"(*b*) We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than $50 per capita.

"(*c*) We demand a graduated income tax.

"(*d*) We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

"(*e*) We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Transportation.—"2. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads

in the interest of the people. The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interests of the people.

Land.—"3. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only."

The following supplementary resolutions, not to be incorporated in the platform, came from the Committee on Resolutions, and were adopted, as follows:

"Whereas, Other questions having been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following, not as a part of the Platform of the People's party, but as resolutions expressive of the sentiment of this convention:

Elections.—"1. Resolved, That we demand a free ballot and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without federal intervention, through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian or secret ballot system.

Taxation.—"2. That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now resting upon the domestic industries of this country.

Pensions.—"3. That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.

Immigration.—"4. That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world, and crowds out our wage-earners; and we denounce the present in-

effective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.

Eight-hour Law.—"5. That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing Eight-hour law on government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

Pinkerton Men.—"6. That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition; and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by federal officials.

Miscellaneous.—"7. That we commend to the favorable consideration of the people and to the reform press the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.

"8. That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of Senators of the United States by a direct vote of the people.

"9. That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

"10. That this convention sympathizes with the Knights of Labor and their righteous contest with the tyrannical combine of clothing manufacturers of Rochester, and declares it to be the duty of all who hate tyranny and oppression to refuse to purchase the goods made by the said manufacturers, or to patronize any merchants who sell such goods."

The Prohibition Platform.

"The Prohibition party, in National convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all true government, and His law as the

standard to which human enactments must conform to secure the blessings of peace and prosperity, presents the following declaration of principles:

Liquor.—"1. The liquor traffic is a foe to civilization, the arch enemy of popular government, and a public nuisance. It is the citadel of the forces that corrupt politics, promote poverty and crime, degrade the nation's home life, thwart the will of the people, and deliver our country into the hands of rapacious class interests. All laws that, under the guise of regulation, legalize and protect this traffic or make the government share in its ill-gotten gains, are 'vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy.' We declare anew for the entire suppression of the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation and transportation of alcoholic liquors as a beverage by Federal and State legislation, and the full powers of government should be exerted to secure this result. No party that fails to recognize the dominant nature of this issue in American politics is deserving of the support of the people.

Woman Suffrage.—"2. No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex, and equal labor should receive equal wages, without regard to sex.

Money.—"3. The money of the country should consist of gold, silver and paper, and be issued by the General Government only, and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of business and give full opportunity for the employment of labor. To this end an increase in the volume of money is demanded. No individual or corporation should be allowed to make any profit through its issue. It should be made a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. Its volume should be fixed at a definite sum per capita, and made to increase with our increase in population.

Silver.—"4. We favor the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver. (This plank was

stricken out by the convention by a vote of 335 for it to 596 against it.)

Tariff.—"5. Tariff should be levied only as a defence against foreign governments which levy tariff upon or bar out our products from their markets, revenues being incidental. The residue of means necessary to an economical administration of the government should be raised by levying a burden on what the people possess, instead of upon what they consume.

Corporations.—"6. Railroad, telegraph and other public corporations should be controlled by the government in the interest of the people, and no higher charges allowed than necessary to give fair interest on the capital actually invested.

Immigration and Naturalization.—"7. Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one of the factors in depressing wages and causing discontent; therefore our immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced. The time of residence for naturalization should be extended, and no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until one year after he becomes a citizen.

Land.—"8. Non-resident aliens should not be allowed to acquire land in this country, and we favor the limitation of individual and corporate ownership of land. All unearned grants of lands to railroad companies or other corporations should be reclaimed.

Mob Law.—"9. Years of inaction and treachery on the part of the Republican and Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of mob law, and we demand that every citizen be protected in the right of trial by constitutional tribunals.

Miscellaneous.—"10. All men should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven.

"11. Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling national differences.

"12. Speculations in margins, the cornering of grain, money and products, and the formation of pools, trusts and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices should be suppressed.

"13. We pledge that the Prohibition party if elected to power will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union Army and Navy, their widows and orphans.

"14. We stand unequivocally for the American public school, and opposed to any appropriation of public moneys for sectarian schools. We declare that only by united support of such common schools, taught in the English language, can we hope to become and remain a homogeneous and harmonious people.

Republicans and Democrats.—"15. We arraign the Republican and Democratic parties as false to the standards reared by their founders; as faithless to the principles of the illustrious leaders of the past to whom they do homage with the lips; as recreant to the 'higher law,' which is as inflexible in political affairs as in personal life, and as no longer embodying the aspirations of the American people, or inviting the confidence of enlightened, progressive patriotism. Their protest against the admission of 'moral issues' into politics is a confession of their own moral degeneracy. The declaration of an eminent authority that municipal misrule is 'the one conspicuous failure of American politics,' follows as a natural consequence of such degeneracy, and it is true alike of cities under Republican and Democratic control. Each accuses the other of extravagance in Congressional appropriations and both are alike guilty; each protests when out of power against infraction of the civil service laws, and each when in power violates those laws in letter and in spirit; each professes fealty to the interests of the toiling masses, but both covertly truckle to the money power in their administration of public affairs. Even the tariff issue, as repre-

sented in the Democratic Mills bill and the Republican McKinley bill, is no longer treated by them as an issue between great and divergent principles of government, but is a mere catering to different sectional and class interests. The attempt in many States to wrest the Australian ballot system from its true purpose, and to so deform it as to render it extremely difficult for new parties to exercise the rights of suffrage, is an outrage upon popular government. The competition of both these parties for the vote of the slums, and their assiduous courting of the liquor power and subserviency to the money power, have resulted in placing those powers in the position of practical arbiters of the destinies of the Nation. We renew our protest against these perilous tendencies, and invite all citizens to join us in the upbuilding of a party that has shown in five national campaigns that it prefers temporary defeat to an abandonment of the claims of justice, sobriety, personal rights and the protection of American homes.

Prohibition.—"16. Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who on this one dominant issue are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land."

For the third resolution a minority report favored "the issue of legal-tender Treasury notes, exchangeable in gold or silver bullion, on a plan similar to that which now floats $340,000,000 of greenbacks on $100,000,000 of gold reserve and makes them more acceptable and convenient than either gold or silver coin." This was defeated on a rising vote—yeas 316, nays 337.

For the fifth resolution, the minority reported a substitute declaring that the tariff should be so levied as to furnish revenue for the needs of the

government economically administered, relieving necessities used by the mass of the people, and for the benefit of labor, protecting American productions and manufactures against the competition of foreign nations, and suggesting the appointment of a tariff commission to recommend to Congress duties to meet the wants of the government, so graduated as to protect American skill and labor against the competition of the world. This was defeated by a large vote.

The sixteenth resolution was reported by a minority of the Committee on Resolutions. After animated debate it was defeated, its friends being unable to rally the 200 votes necessary to order a vote by States. Subsequently it was taken from the table, and by a rising vote added to the Platform; which, with the fourth paragraph out, was then adopted, as reported by James Black, chairman of the committee.

During the proceedings, on motion of a delegate from Virginia, speakers were requested to refrain from unnecessary references or illustrations which "could be considered as a reflection on participants in the war of the rebellion."

PART XIII.

THE PENSION ROLL.

The all-sufficient warrant for a just and liberal policy toward the survivors of the war for the Union, and the widows and children of those who have passed away is contained in almost the dying words of Abraham Lincoln, in his inaugural address, March 5, 1865—"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widows and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." The United States has dealt generously with the Union veterans of the great struggle upon the result of which depended the destinies, not of this nation only, but of mankind, and if the cost of this generosity is tremendous, it should not be forgotten that the conflict was the most tremendous of modern times. The principle of granting pensions to the survivors of a war whether they were injured or not is not new in American history. In 1818—thirty-five years after the war of the revolution—pensions were granted to all the survivors of the war who for any reason stood in need of pecuniary assistance. In those days there were not lacking men who outpoured abuse and contempt on the soldiers of the Republic, but the heart of the people beat responsive then as it does now to valor, patriotism and truth. I read from a publication of 1817, now before me: "The Diomedes and Sarpedons of our history remain within our view until the streams of dotage flow from their eyes, and the weakness of second childhood succeeds to the

firmness of early manhood. Posterity will see better because they will not see so much, and will wonder at the coldness and indifference with which we regard the revolution independent of its consequences." And thus it will be with the civil war. Honors will not be lacking when the grave will have closed over the last of the brave men who followed Sherman and Grant.

The pension money is much more widely distributed among the States than might be supposed. The Southern and border States have no small share of it. Missouri receives nearly two millions of dollars more than Massachusetts, and Virginia more than Connecticut. Texas, another State whose people went with the Confederacy, receives nearly twice as much pension money as Oregon—a fact due, no doubt, in a large degree to Northern immigration. Arkansas, one of the States of the Confederacy, closely approaches Vermont on the pension roll, and Kentucky, which earned again during the war the title of the "dark and bloody ground," is high in the list of pension beneficiaries. The following, from the latest accessible report of the Commissioner of Pensions, shows where the pension money goes within the United States:

UNITED STATES.	NO.	AMOUNT.
Alabama	3,648	$341,458 62
Alaska Territory	24	2,743 57
Arizona Territory	592	81,899 06
Arkansas	10,160	1,393,254 96
California	13,603	1,869,533 10
Colorado	6,342	870,528 90
Connecticut	11,503	1,170,757 75
Delaware	2,781	437,846 43
District of Columbia	8,582	1,440,979 79
Florida	2,851	422,553 24
Georgia	3,621	511,270 71
Idaho	924	124,434 58
Illinois	69,695	10,299,400 09

UNITED STATES.	NO.	AMOUNT.
Indiana	70,341	10,841,565 80
Indian Territory	2,593	328,213 11
Iowa	38,495	5,760,363 95
Kansas	43,530	6,048,592 44
Kentucky	29,582	4,313,043 17
Louisiana	4,361	592,079 99
Maine	20,385	3,047,273 37
Maryland	13,035	1,666,294 83
Massachusetts	39,607	5,948,985 49
Michigan	46,371	7,218,933 80
Minnesota	16,633	2,353,450 35
Mississippi	3,987	498,610 46
Missouri	54,179	7,603,813 31
Montana	1,249	165,667 69
Nebraska	18,577	2,730,019 98
Nevada	203	27,273 84
New Hampshire	9,485	1,413,725 25
New Jersey	19,675	2,608,215 84
New Mexico Territory	1,283	179,573 55
New York	89,642	11,937,643 43
North Carolina	4,904	572,334 40
North Dakota	1,597	186,761 55
Ohio	99,837	14,737,191 54
Oklahoma Territory	5,176	684,885 85
Oregon	4,423	597,395 28
Pennsylvania	89,378	13,574,346 36
Rhode Island	4,160	418,923 86
South Carolina	1,668	223,742 40
South Dakota	5,290	750,983 64
Tennessee	16,815	2,658,725 63
Texas	7,758	1,030,282 82
Utah Territory	734	105,768 80
Vermont	9,931	1,529,333 24
Virginia	8,036	1,204,925 27
Washington	5,456	733,294 52
West Virginia	14,947	2,159,023 33
Wisconsin	28,516	4,019,524 68
Wyoming	682	92,614 60
Total in States and Territories,	965,947	$139,530,058 22

PART XIV.

IMPORTANT EVENTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

1606. A charter granted to a company in England for the settlement of Virginia, and a colony dispatched, who landed at Jamestown, and chose Edward Wingfield ruler.

1607. Soon after their arrival, Captain John Smith and others visited the native chief, Powhatan, at his principal residence, near the present site of Richmond.—Wingfield was deposed, and Smith appointed in his place; but he was soon after captured by the Indians, and detained among them for some time. He was about to be slain by the savages, when Pocahontas, a favorite daughter of Powhatan's, rushed between him and the clubs of his enemies, and finally saved his life.

1608. When Smith returned he found the colonists in a very bad condition; after alleviating it as far as practicable, he explored the Chesapeake Bay and its tributary rivers.

1609. A new charter granted to the London Company enlarging their limits, etc., and Lord De la War appointed governor for life.

1610. In consequence of being injured by an explosion of powder, Captain Smith returned to England, delegating his authority to George Percy.—Lord De la War arrived just as the colonists were about leaving for England, after having greatly suffered from disease and famine.—A few Dutch traders settled in New Amsterdam, now New York City.

1611. Under the new Governor order and contentment were again restored; but his health rapidly failing he returned home, and Percy again administered the government until the arrival

of Sir Thomas Daly, by whom he was superseded.

1612. The king granted the London Company another new charter, making important changes in the powers of the corporation, but not affecting the political rights of the colonists.

1613. John Rolfe, a young English officer, married Pocahontas, an event which had a beneficial influence on the relations of the colonists and Indians.

1614–16. Governor Dale returned to England, after appointing George Yeardley in his place. The culture of tobacco was introduced and soon became, not only the principal article of export, but even the currency of the colony. The Dutch began a settlement in Albany, N. Y.

1617. Yeardley was displaced for a short time by Argall, who ruled with such tyranny and injustice as led to the reinstatement of the former.

1619. The first colonial assembly ever convened in America was held at Jamestown.

1620. In August a Dutch man-of-war landed twenty negroes for sale at Jamestown, which was the commencement of negro slavery in the colonies. —Ninety young women of respectable character were sent from England as wives for the colonists, the prices for whom were fixed at from 120 to 150 pounds of tobacco.—December 21st a body of Puritans, dissenters from the Church of England, landed at Plymouth, and commenced the settlement of New England.

1621. The London Company granted to the Virginia colony a written constitution.—A treaty of friendship was concluded between the Puritans and the principal chief of the Massachusetts tribe (Massasoit), and similar treaties concluded with other chiefs.

1622. April 1st, 347 men, women and children of the Virginia colony were savagely butchered by treacherous Indians; but Jamestown and the

neighboring settlements were saved by the plot being revealed the evening before its intended consummation by a friendly Indian, thus putting the inhabitants on their guard.

1623. Miles Standish saves the settlement of Weymouth, Mass., from destruction by the Indians, and kills their chief.—First settlement formed at Dover, New Hampshire.

1624. The London Company was dissolved, and King James assumed the government of the Virginia colony.—New Jersey settled by the Dutch.

1627. Delaware settled by Swedes and Danes.

1635. Maryland settled by Irish Catholics, and Connecticut settled by a branch of Puritans from Massachusetts.

1636. Rhode Island settled by Roger Williams, who was banished for his liberal religious sentiments by the Puritans of Massachusetts.

1637. The magistrates of the three infant towns of Connecticut—Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield—formally declared war against the Pequod Indians.

1643. The colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth and New Haven, form themselves into one confederacy, by the name of "United Colonies of New England."

1644. Another Indian massacre in Virginia, followed by a border warfare, which continued about two years.

1648. An individual accused of witchcraft was executed at Charlestown, and for several years after (until 1793) numerous others suffered imprisonment and death for the like alleged crime.

1650. North Carolina settled by the English.

1656. First arrival of Quakers in Massachusetts, who were sent back to England in the vessels in which they came, and the four united colonies concurred in a law prohibiting their introduction; notwithstanding all which they continued to arrive.

1658. By advice of commissioners of the four colonies, the legislature of Massachusetts denounced the punishment of death upon all Quakers returning from banishment.

1660. Sir William Berkely elected governor by the people of Virginia, but he afterwards disclaimed the authority to which he owed his elevation, and issued writs for an assembly in the name of King Charles II.

1661. Edward Whalley and William Goffe, two of the judges who had condemned Charles I. to death, arrived at Boston, and were kindly received by the people. Messengers were sent to arrest them, but they were concealed and ended their days in New England.

1663. North Carolina settled by colonists from Virginia, near the village of Edenton.

1664. An English force, sent to take possession of the whole territory from the Connecticut River to the shores of the Delaware, captured "New Amsterdam" from the Dutch, and changed its name to "New York."

1670. South Carolina settled by the Huguenots.

1673. The Virginians remonstrated against the unjust taxation on their commercial business, but obtained no redress.—The Episcopal Church became the religion of the State. A war having broke out between England and Holland, the Dutch reconquered New York, but it was again surrendered to the English the year following.

1675. The war with the Wampanoags and other tribes, commonly called "King Philip's War," commenced, and was marked by much barbarity.

1676. King Phillip was shot by a faithless Indian of his own tribe, but this did not end the war, which was continued till 1678, when a treaty of peace was concluded.—The people of Virginia, led by Nathaniel Bacon, took up arms in defence of their rights.

1677. Massachusetts purchased the province of Maine from the heirs of Gorges.

1680. New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts by a royal commission, and made a royal province; but the first law adopted by the legislature, which soon after met at Portsmouth, declared "That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, should be made or imposed upon them but such as should be made by the assembly, and approved by the President and Council."

1682. Pennsylvania settled by Wm. Penn, who founded Philadelphia the year following.

1686. The charter government of Massachusetts was revoked, and the king appointed a president over the country from Narragansett to Nova Scotia.

1687. Governor Andros attempted to reclaim the charter granted to Connecticut, but it was secretly taken from the assembly chamber at Hartford by Captain Wadsworth while the subject was under discussion and hidden in a hollow tree, since celebrated as the Charter Oak, which was an object of curiosity until 1856, when it was blown down.

1689. "King William's War" with France began, and was continued till 1697, during which all the English colonies suffered by ravages of the French and Indians.

1690. The people of New Hampshire took the government into their own hands, and placed themselves under the protection of Massachusetts.—The conquest of Canada was undertaken by the people of New England and New York acting in concert. An armament, under Sir William Phipps, made an unsuccessful demonstration against Quebec, and then returned to Boston. The first emission of bills of credit in the colonies was made by Massachusetts to defray the expenses of this expedition.

1701. "Queen Anne's War," waged against France and Spain, was commenced this year, and only terminated in 1713 by the treaty of Utrecht.

1733. Georgia settled by Gen. Oglethorpe, who landed at Savannah with about 120 emigrants, and began building the town.

1741. A supposed negro plot occasioned great excitement in the City of New York, and between 30 and 40 persons were executed before it subsided.—The provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were separated.

1744. "King George's War," which originated in European disputes relative to Austria, again gave the French and Indians many opportunities of harassing the colonists. The most important event of the war in America was the siege and capture of Louisburg, which was restored to France in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1754. "The French and Indian War," arising from disputed claims to American territory by the English and French, again plunged the colonies in difficulties, and materially injured their prosperity, until 1763, when peace was concluded.

1759. Quebec surrendered to the English forces under Gen. Wolfe, who was killed on the battle-field, and all the other French posts in Canada were captured soon after.

1764. A resolution imposing certain stamp duties on the colonies was adopted by the House of Commons, but it did not become a law till next year.

1765. A general indignation spread through the colonies when it was known that the "Stamp Act" had passed. At Boston and Philadelphia the bells were muffled, and rung a funeral peal; and at New York the Act was carried through the streets, with a death's-head affixed to it, and styled "The folly of England and the ruin of America." The stamps themselves, in many places, were seized and destroyed, and the doctrine that England had no right to tax America was boldly avowed.—THE FIRST COLONIAL

CONGRESS met in New York, nine colonies being represented, and agreed on a "Declaration of Rights," and other energetic measures.

1766. The Stamp Act was repealed through the exertions of Mr. Pitt.

1767. Parliament passed a bill imposing a duty on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea, which occasioned as much excitement as the Stamp Act, and the colonial assemblies adopted spirited resolutions for resisting its operation.

1768. A vessel was seized by the custom house officers in Boston for violating some of the odious commercial restrictions, but the people compelled them to abandon their prize, and seek refuge in Castle William.

1770. In March, an affray occurred in Boston between some citizens and the soldiers stationed there which produced a great sensation throughout America.—Parliament passed a bill repealing all duties imposed by the Act of 1767, except that on tea, which they allowed the British East India Company to export to America, free from the duties which they had before paid in England.

1773. The ports of New York and Philadelphia were closed against vessels having cargoes of tea, and they were compelled to return to England. At Boston, a party of men, disguised as Indians, boarded several vessels, and broke open 342 chests of tea, which they emptied into the harbor in the presence of thousands of spectators.

1774. Parliament passed the Boston Port Bill, which forbade the landing and shipping goods, wares, and merchandise at Boston. The provincial assembly resolved that "the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity and cruelty of the act exceeded all their powers of expression.

1775. An oppressive bill was passed by Parliament, restricting the commerce of all the provinces, except New York and North Carolina. The inhabitants of Massachusetts were declared rebels,

and 10,000 troops were ordered to America, to aid in reducing the rebellious colonies.—April 19. The first blood in the cause of independence was shed at Lexington, about ten miles from Boston, where a party of militia intercepted a division of English soldiers on their way to Concord for the purpose of destroying some military stores which the people had collected there. At Concord, a smart skirmish took place, and the British made a hasty retreat, after partially accomplishing their object.—May 10. The Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia, and, after electing John Hancock president of the body, among other important measures, voted to raise an army of 20,000 men.—June 17. A sanguinary battle took place on Breed's Hill (generally now regarded as Bunker Hill) in which the British were severely cut up, but they finally gained possession of the hill, the Americans retiring across Charlestown Neck with inconsiderable loss.—July 12. Washington having been appointed commander-in-chief, arrived at Cambridge, and entered upon his duties.—Georgia joined the confederation; after which, the style of the "Thirteen United Colonies" was adopted. —An unsuccessful attempt was made by the Americans for the conquest of Canada, in which Gen. Montgomery was killed during an assault on Quebec (Dec. 31), and a portion of his troops were taken prisoners.

1776. March 4. Gen. Washington gained possession of Dorchester Heights, and the British left Boston on the 17th.—June 18. Canada evacuated by the Americans.—July 4. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, was proclaimed, and hailed with great rejoicings.—August 27. Battle of Long Island, in which the Americans were defeated, but Washington made an admirable retreat to New York on the 29th, and thence across Jersey

to Philadelphia, where Congress was in session. —Dec. 12. Congress adjourned to Baltimore, and soon after invested Washington with almost unlimited powers.—Dec. 26. Washington having amid great perils recrossed the Delaware on the previous night, surprised and captured a large body of Hessians at Trenton, and returned to Pennsylvania with his prisoners.—Dec. 28. Washington took post at Trenton.

1777. Jan. 3. Finding himself nearly surrounded by a force far superior to his own, Washington kindled his camp-fires as usual to deceive the enemy, and then by a circuitous route rapidly advanced upon Princeton, where he gained another important victory.—In the spring, the Marquis de la Fayette arrived in America from France, having fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and enlisted as a volunteer in the army of Washington declining all pay for his services; but Congress, which had returned to Philadelphia, soon after appointed him a Major-General. —May 6. Gen. Burgoyne, with a powerful force, designed to invade the States by the way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson, arrived at Quebec; and on the 16th of June he left St. Johns for Crown Point, where he established magazines.—June 30. The British army, under Gen. Howe, passed over to Staten Island, leaving Washington in possession of New Jersey.—July 5. Gen. St. Clair abandoned Ticonderoga, retreating before Burgoyne's forces, with whom he had a severe skirmish at Hubbardton, and finally succeeded in joining Gen. Schuyler on the Hudson, having lost 200 pieces of artillery and a large quantity of stores.—July 10. Col. Barton, with about forty militia, seized the Commander of the English forces in Rhode Island (Major-General Prescott) while in bed, and conducted him safely through his own troops and fleet back to the mainland. This heroic exploit not only cheered

the American army, but secured an officer of equal rank to exchange for Gen. Lee.—August 16.—Battle of Bennington, in which the Americans, led by Col. Stark, obtained an important victory over Col. Baum, who had been sent by Gen. Burgoyne to seize some stores at that place.—Sept. 11. Battle of the Brandywine, in which Count Pulaski, a brave Polander, who had magnanimously joined the Americans, distinguished himself, and was soon after promoted to the rank of brigadier, with the command of the cavalry. Gen. Lafayette was severely wounded while endeavoring to rally the fugitives.—Sept. 13. Burgoyne crossed the Hudson with his whole army, and took a position on the heights and plains of Saratoga.—Sept. 26. The British army, under Gen. Howe, entered Philadelphia without further opposition, Congress having previously adjourned to Lancaster.—Oct. 4. Washington attacked a large British force at Germantown, and was repulsed, with the loss of 1200 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.—Oct. 17. Burgoyne, finding himself surrounded, and despairing of relief, surrendered his army to Gen. Gates, who had recently been appointed to the command of the Northern division, whereby the Americans acquired a fine train of brass artillery, 5000 muskets, and immense quantities of other munitions of war.—Oct. 22. A plan of confederation was adopted by Congress, which, however, amounted to little more than a league of friendship between the States.—Dec. 11. Washington retired into winter-quarters at Valley Forge.

1778. In February, Parliament passed two bills, virtually conceding all that had been the cause of controversy, and sent commissioners to adjust existing differences; they attempted to gain their objects by private intrigue and bribery, which coming to the knowledge of Congress, that body declared it incompatible with their

honor to hold any intercourse with them.—Feb. 6. France acknowledged the independence of America, and concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce.—June 18. The British army evacuated Philadelphia, and retreated to New York, followed cautiously by Washington with the main body of his army.—June 28. Battle of Monmouth, in which the British were signally defeated with great loss, and retreated to Sandy Hook, whence they were taken to New York by their fleet.—July 3. Wyoming was attacked by a large body of British, tories, and Indians, who, after the place had been surrendered, perpetrated the most inhuman atrocities: men, women and children were shut up in the houses and barracks, and consumed in one general conflagration.—Dec. 29. An English army of 2000 men landed near Savannah, then defended by only 600 troops, and, after a severe battle, took possession of the city, the Americans retreating.

1779. May 11. Gen. Provost, with a large British force, having invested Charleston, summoned the city to surrender; but the approach of Gen. Lincoln, who had been appointed to the command of the Southern army, compelled him to retreat.—July 5. Gen. Tryon made another descent on Connecticut, and plundered and burned the towns of New Haven, East Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk.—July 16. Stony Point, which had been previously taken by the enemy, was gallantly recaptured by Gen. Wayne, the British losing upward of 600 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.—September 23. One of the most bloody battles on record was fought on the coast of Scotland between the American frigate Bon Homme Richard, Captain Paul Jones, and two British frigates, the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, which resulted in a victory for the Richard, which was so cut up that she soon after sank. Of a crew of 375, 300

were either killed or wounded.—October 9. After a month's siege, a combined attack of the French and Americans, under Count D'Estaing and Gen. Lincoln, was made on Savannah, but it proved unsuccessful, and Gen. Lincoln retired into South Carolina, while Count D'Estaing withdrew his fleet from the American coast. Count Pulaski was mortally wounded during the battle, and a monument has since been erected to his memory on the spot where he fell.

1780. During the most of this year military operations were confined to the Carolinas.—April 9. Admiral Arbuthnot, with a powerful fleet, which had transported Sir Henry Clinton with the bulk of his forces from New York to the South, anchored in Charleston harbor, and summoned the city to surrender. This was rejected, and General Lincoln and his troops made a gallant defence, until May 12, when, most of the fortifications having been beaten down, and the enemy being about to make an assault, a compliance was unavoidable, and the royal government was again established in South Carolina.—May 12. Charleston surrendered after more than a month's siege.—July 10. A French squadron, under Admiral de Ternay, arrived at Newport, having on board 6000 men, commanded by Count de Rochambeau.—August 16. Gen. Gates, who was advancing with a considerable force for the relief of the South, encountered the British, under Lords Rawdon and Cornwallis, near Camden, S. C., and after a desperate engagement, was compelled to draw off, with the loss of 1000 men, and all his artillery, ammunition wagons, and most of his baggage. Baron de Kalb, second in command, was mortally wounded, dying on the 19th.—September 23. Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, was arrested near Tarrytown, N. Y., by militiamen John Paulding, David Williams and

Isaac Van Wert. He was returning from a visit to Gen. Arnold, then in command of West Point, with whom he had successfully negotiated for the surrender of that post. He was soon after tried, convicted, and executed as a spy, while the traitor Arnold unfortunately escaped. Being allowed to write to Arnold, that officer of course found that his treason was discovered, and precipitately fled on board the sloop-of-war Vulture, then lying in the Hudson.

1781. The traitor Arnold, as one of the rewards of his crime, was made a brigadier in the British service, and early in January he made a descent upon Virginia, ravaging the coasts, and plundering and destroying public and private property to a vast amount.—January 17. The English cavalry, under Col. Tarleton, were severely beaten at the Battle of Cowpens by the Americans, under Gen. Morgan, and lost 300 in killed, and wounded, 500 prisoners, 100 horses, and a large quantity of baggage. Morgan's loss was 12 men killed and 60 wounded.—January 31. Gen. Greene, who had been appointed to supersede Gen. Gates in the South, arrived at Cheraw, and took command of Morgan's division.—March 15. Gen. Greene encountered the army of Lord Cornwallis at Guilford Court House; but neither party gained a decided advantage. and Greene withdrew into South Carolina, encamping on Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile from Camden, where Lord Rawdon was then posted. —April 25. Lord Rawdon made an attack on Hobkirk's Hill, but with so little success that he soon after evacuated Camden, and retired beyond the Santee River.—October 8. The Americans and British, under Gen. Greene and Col. Stewart, met at Eutaw Springs, and a sanguinary conflict, of nearly four hours, ensued; when Greene drew off his troops, and Stewart retired to Monk's Corner.—September 6. The traitor

Arnold villainously burned New London, and destroyed much private and public property indiscriminately. —September 30. The combined American and French army, under Washington and Rochambeau suddenly appeared before Yorktown, where Cornwallis had concentrated his forces, and immediately commenced the construction of batteries and other works for the effectual siege of that place. A French fleet commanded by Count de Grasse, had previously entered the Chesapeake, and, by blocking up James and York rivers, prevented the enemy's escape by sea.—October 19. Finding retreat impossible, and resistance vain, Cornwallis surrendered the post, and thus 7000 troops and the shipping in the harbor were secured to the victors, and the revolutionary struggle virtually ended.—December 12. A resolution passed the British House of Commons that those who should advise the king to continue the war in America, should be declared enemies of the sovereign and of the country.

1782. The independence of America was acknowledged by Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and Russia.—Early in May, Sir Guy Carleton, successor of Sir Henry Clinton as commander of all the forces in America, arrived in New York, with instructions to promote an accommodation with the United States, and of course there were no subsequent military operations of importance. —November 30. Preliminary articles of peace were signed at Paris by Mr. Oswald, commissioner on the part of Great Britain, and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens, on the part of the United States.

1783. April 19. On the eighth anniversary of the battle of Lexington, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in the American army.—September 3 Definitive treaties of peace were signed by the commissioners of England with those of

the United States, France, Spain, and Holland. —November 25. New York was evacuated by the British troops.—December 4. Washington took leave of the army, and the soldiers of the Revolution returned peaceably to their homes. —December 23. Washington resigned his commission into the hands of Congress, then sitting at Annapolis, Md., and retired to private life.

EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO INDEPENDENCE.

1784. Nov. 1. Congress convened at Trenton, N. J., but transacted little business of permanent importance.

1785. June 2. John Adams, first Minister from the United States to Great Britain, had his first audience with the king.

1786. Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

1787. Sept. 17. The Constitution of the United States was adopted at Philadelphia.—Daniel Shay and his party dispersed by Gen. Lincoln.

1788. Eleven States ratified the Constitution.—Election for President of the United States.

1789. March 4. Congress assembled at New York, but did not organize till April 6.—April 30. George Washington was sworn into office as the first President, and John Adams as the first Vice-President of United States.

1790. In May, Rhode Island acceded to the Constitution.—Sept. 30. Gen. Harmer defeated by the Indians near Chillicothe.—The first census completed, showing—population, 3,921,326; revenue $4,771,000; exports, $19,000,000; imports, $20,000,000.

1791. Vermont, having acceded to the Constitution, was admitted into the Union.—The first United States Bank was chartered by Congress, but not without powerful opposition.

1792. The Mint was established.—Kentucky admitted into the Union.

1793. April 22. President Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality in regard to the affairs of France, which were beginning to affect American politics.—Washington and Adams were re-elected.

1794. Aug. 20. Gen. Wayne obtained so decisive a victory over the hostile Indians as to produce a salutary effect upon all the tribes northwest of the Ohio.

1795. Treaties were concluded with Spain and Algiers.

1796. Sept. 17. Washington signified his intention to retire from public life, and published his Farewell Address.—Tennessee was admitted into the Union.

1797. March 4. John Adams was inaugurated as President, and Thomas Jefferson, Vice-Pesident.

1798. Congress again elected Gen. Washington commander in-chief of the army.

1799. Dec. 14. Gen. Washington died at Mount Vernon, after a very short illness.

1800. The seat of government was transferred to Washington City.—Sept. 30. A treaty was concluded with the French Directory.—President Adams signed the alien and sedition laws.

1801. Thomas Jefferson was elected President, and Aaron Burr, Vice-President.—Congress declared was against Tripoli.—The second census was completed, and showed—population, 5,319,762; revenue, $12,945,000; exports, $94,000,000.

1802. New Orleans was ceded by Spain to France, and the Mississippi closed against the United States.—Ohio admitted into the Union.

1803. Louisiana was purchased of the French by the United States for $15,000,000.—Com. Preble sailed with a squadron for Tripoli; the frigate Philadelphia got around in the harbor, and was captured by the barbarians.

1804. Capt. Eaton was appointed navy agent for the Barbary powers.—Lieut. (afterward Com.) Decatur recaptured and destroyed the frigate Philadelphia, under a terrific fire from the enemy's guns.

1805. Thomas Jefferson was re-elected President, and George Clinton Vice-President.—Peace was concluded with Tripoli, and 200 prisoners were given up to the United States.

1806. England began to impress American seamen, on the plea of their having been born in that kingdom.—Nov. 21. Berlin decree issued by Bonaparte, crippling American commerce.

1807. Aaron Burr, formerly Vice-President, was tried at Richmond for high treason, but was acquitted, owing to the insufficiency of evidence.

1808. June 22. The American frigate Chesapeake was fired into by the British ship-of-war Leopard, for refusing to deliver up four men who were claimed as English subjects; three men were killed and eighteen wounded.—In November. the British government issued the celebrated "Orders in Council," prohibiting all trade with France and her allies; and in December, Bonaparte issued the retaliatory "Milan decree," forbidding all trade with England and her colonies. —Dec. 22. Congress decreed an embargo, the design of which was to retaliate on France and England for unjust commercial prohibitions.

1809. March 1. Congress repealed the embargo act, but at the same time interdicted all commercial intercourse with France or England.

1810. In November, all the hostile decrees of the French were revoked, and commercial intercourse with the United States was resumed; but those of England were not only continued, but ships of war were stationed near the principal American ports for the purpose of intercepting our merchantmen, which were captured, and sent to British ports as legal prizes.

1811. May 16. The British ship-of-war Little Belt, Capt. Bingham, was hailed in the evening on the coast of Virginia by the U. S frigate President, Capt. Rodgers, but instead of receiving a satisfactory answer, a shot was fired in return, when a brief engagement followed, in which eleven of the enemy were killed and twenty-one wounded. The President had only one man wounded.

1812. June 17. President Madison issued a proclamation of war against England, and exertions were immediately made to enlist 25,000 men, to raise 50,000 volunteers, and to call out 100,000 militia.

1814. In August, Washington City surrendered to a British army, who destroyed the capitol, President's mansion, and many other valuable buildings, etc.—Dec. 24. Treaty of peace with Great Britain concluded at Ghent.

1815. Jan. 8. Battle of New Orleans, in which the British, under Sir E. Packenham were signally repulsed by the Americans, under Gen. Jackson.

1816. In April, Congress chartered the U. S. Bank, with a capital of $35,000,000—Indiana admitted into the Union.—American Colonization Society formed.

1817. March 4. James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins were inaugurated as President and Vice-President.—Mississippi admitted into the Union.

1818. SEMINOLE WAR, in which Gen. Jackson obtained many important victories, and finally "conquered peace."—July 4. Ground first broken in New York for the Hudson and Erie Canal.—Illinois and Alabama admitted into the Union.

1819. Feb. 23. The Floridas ceded by Spain to the United States for $5,000,000, which sum was to be paid to American citizens as indemnities for spoliations on their commerce during the Peninsular war.

1820. Maine and Missouri were admitted into the Union.—The Compromise Act passed, by which

slavery was excluded from all territory lying north of 36° 30′ N. latitude.

1821. James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins were re-elected President and Vice-President.

1822. Ministers plenipotentiary sent to Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Chili.—Convention of Navigation and Commerce between the United States and France.—Piracy was alarmingly prevalent in the West Indies.

1824. Aug. 15. Gen. Lafayette arrived in New York from France, and spent the year in traveling through the country, being received at every place with great enthusiasm.

1825. March 4. John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun inaugurated as President and Vice-President.—Sept. 7. Gen. Lafayette embarked for France in the frigate Brandywine, which had been fitted out expressly for his accomodation.

1826. July 4. Semi-Centennial Anniversary of American Independence.—Remarkable coincidence in the death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, each on whom died that day.

1829. March 4. Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun inaugurated as President and Vice-President—the latter re-elected.

1832. The Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, and some other Indian tribes, under the Chief Black Hawk, made war on the Northwestern frontier, but were soon brought to submission.—A convention in South Carolina threatened to dissolve the Union, but the President issued a proclamation (Dec. 12) which allayed all apprehension of trouble.

1833. March 4. Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren were inaugurated as President and Vice-President—the former re-elected.—The public funds were removed from the U. S. Bank, which occasioned much excitement.

1835. The Florida War was commenced by Indian hostilities against the settlements.—Dec. 24. Major Dade and upward of 100 men were unexpectedly attacked, and all savagely butchered,

except four, who were so horribly mangled that they died soon afterward. On the same day, while Gen. Thompson and eight friends were dining together near Fort King, they were fired upon by a party of warriors under Osceola, and five out of the nine were killed and scalped. Gen. Thompson's body was pierced by fifteen bullets.

1836. The Florida war was vigorously prosecuted by Generals Gaines, Clinch, Jesup, and Call, and several desperate battles were fought, but without any material advantage to the whites.—Arkansas was admitted into the Union.

1837. March 4. Great commercial distress prevailed, and nearly all the banks in the country suspended specie payments.—An extra session of Congress was held in September, but nothing was done, except authorizing the government to issue $10,000,000 in Treasury notes.—Oct. 21. The Indian chief Osceola was captured, and died the following January.—Michigan was admitted into the Union.

1840. General Macomb, who took command of the army in Florida (numbering about 9000), concluded a treaty of peace with several Indian chiefs.—The Independent Treasury Bill became a law.

1841. March 4. William H. Harrison and John Tyler were inaugurated as President and Vice-President.—April 4. President Harrison died, and was succeeded by Mr. Tyler.—May 31. An extra session of Congress convened, but they did little, except to pass the Bankrupt Bill.

1842. A treaty adjusting the northeastern boundary of the United States concluded with Great Britain.

1845. March 4. James K. Polk and George M. Dallas were inaugurated as President and Vice-President.—Texas was annexed to the United States, and this led to a war with Mexico, which

resulted in a series of brilliant victories, and in the extension of American territory on the Pacific Ocean. Florida was admitted into the Union.

1846. Iowa was admitted into the Union.

1847. Wisconsin was admitted into the Union.

1849. March 4. Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore were inaugurated as President and Vice-President.

1850. July 9. President Taylor died, after a very brief illness, and was succeeded by Mr. Fillmore. —Sept. 18. Fugitive Slave Law approved.—California admitted into the Union.

1853. Franklin Pierce and William R. King, having been elected President and Vice-President, the former was duly inaugurated, but the latter, being absent in Cuba, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health, was not sworn into office until some time in April. He did not live long after reaching home, and Jesse D. Bright, President of the Senate, assumed his office during the remainder of the term.

1854. Congress passed an act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and also to repeal the Missouri Compromise Act.

1857. James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge inaugurated as President and Vice-President of the United States.—A year of severe embarrassments and financial distress throughout the country. Nearly all the banks in the United States suspended specie payments, as in 1837, and many heavy failures occured.—Minnesota admitted into the Union.

1858. Specie payments resumed.—Atlantic telegraph laid.—Crystal Palace burned.

1859. Oregon admitted into the Union.

1860. May. Visit of the Ambassadors of the Japanese Government to the U. S.

June. Arrival of the steamship Great Eastern at New York.

Nov. 8. The election of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin as President and Vice President of the United States announced at Washington.—9-11. James Chesnut, Jr., and James H. Hammond, U. S. Senators from South Carolina, resigned their seats in the Senate.

Dec. 3. The second session of the 36th Congress opened at Washington.—10. U. S. House of Representatives appointed a Committee of 33 on the state of the Union.—Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary U. S. Treasury, resigned his office. John A. Dix, of New York, appointed his sucessor.—14. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of State, resigned.—20. The South Carolina "Ordinance of Secession" passed.—24. Resignation of the South Carolina Representatives in Congress.—26. Major Anderson removed his command from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter.—Messrs. Barnwell, Orr and Adams, Commissioners appointed by South Carolina to treat with the Federal Government, arrived at Washington.—27. Captain N. L. Coste, U. S. R. service, in command of the cutter William Aiken, betrayed his vessel into the hands of the State authorities of South Carolina.—28. The palmetto flag raised over the custom-house and post office in Charleston, S. C., and Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie occupied by the South Carolina military.—29. John B. Floyd resigned his position as Secretary of War.—30. South Carolina troops take possession of the U. S. Arsenal at Charleston, containing many thousand stand of arms and valuable military stores.

1861. Jan 3. Fort Pulaski, at Savannah, Ga., taken possession of by Georgia troops.—South Carolina Commissioners left Washington for Charleston, the President declining to receive any official communication from them.—4. United States Arsenal at Mobile seized by secessionists. No defence.—Fort Morgan, at the entrance of

Mobile Bay, taken by Alabama troops.—8. Jacob Thompson resigned his place in the Cabinet as Secretary of the Interior.—United States sub-Treasury at Charleston seized.—9. Mississippi Ordinance of Secession passed.—Steamship Star of the West, with supplies for Fort Sumter, fired into from Morris Island and Fort Moultrie, and driven from Charleston harbor.—11. Louisiana State troops, under Captain Bradford, took possession of the U. S. Marine hospital, two miles below New Orleans.—Florida Convention adopted an Ordinance of Secession by a vote of 62 to 7.—Alabama Convention adopted an Ordinance of Secession by a vote of 61 to 39.—12. Fort Barrancas and the Navy Yard at Pensacola, Fla., seized by Southern troops.—15. Col. Hayne, Commissioner from South Carolina to Washington, demanded the withdrawal of the garrison of Fort Sumter.—U. S. coast survey schooner Dana seized by Florida State authorities.—19. Convention of Georgia adopted a secession ordinance by a vote of 208 to 89.—21. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, withdrew from U. S. Senate.—24. U. S. arsenal at Augusta, Ga., surrendered to the State authorities.—26. Louisiana State Convention passed an Ordinance of Secession by a vote of 113 to 17.—29. U. S. revenue cutter Robert McClelland, Captain Breshwood, surrendered to State of Louisiana.—Secretary Dix's dispatch to Hemphill Jones at New Orleans, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag shoot him on the spot." 31. South Carolina authorities offer to buy Fort Sumter.—U. S. branch mint and custom-house at New Orleans seized by State authorities.

Feb. 1. Texas Convention at Galveston passed an Ordinance of Secession, to be voted on by the people on the 23d of February, and to take effect March 2.—8. Congress at Montgomery adopted a constitution for a provisional government,

Jefferson Davis, President; Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President.—U. S. arsenal at Little Rock, Ark., with 9000 stand of arms and forty cannon, etc., surrendered to State authorities.—13. The election of Lincoln and Hamlin, as President and Vice-President of the United States, formally declared in the Senate by John C. Breckinridge, Vice President.—18. Jefferson Davis inaugurated President of the Southern Confederacy.—23. U. S. property to a great amount, together with various army posts in Texas, surrendered to the Confederates by General Twiggs. Property valued at $1,500,000, besides buildings.—27. Peace Convention at Washington submitted to the Senate a plan of adjustment of the national difficulties, involving seven amendments to the Constitution.

March 1. General Twiggs expelled from the army of the United States.—4. Abraham Lincoln inaugurated sixteenth President of the United States, at Washington. A State Convention declared Texas out of the Union.—5. Gen. P. T. Beauregard took command of the forces investing Fort Sumter, S. C.—30. Mississippi State Convention ratified the constitution of the C. S., by a vote of 78 to 7.

April 3. South Carolina Convention ratified the constitution of the C. S., by a vote of 114 to 16.—12. Attack on Fort Sumter. Reinforcement of Fort Pickens.—14. Evacuation of Fort Sumter. President's proclamation, calling for 75,000 volunteers to suppress insurrection, and also calling an extra session of U. S. Congress on July 4.—16. The government of the Southern Confederacy call for 32,000 men.—New York Legislature appropriated $3,000,000 for war purposes.—17. State Convention of Virginia, in secret session, passed an Ordinance of Secession.—Sixth Massachusetts regiment, on its way to Washington, attacked by a mob in Baltimore.—U. S. arsenal at Liberty, Mo., seized.—Steamship Star

of the West, having been seized by secessionists, was taken into New Orleans.—The ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas ordered to be blockaded by the President.—21. Gosport Navy Yard, opposite Norfolk, Va., set on fire, and vessels scuttled and sunk, by U. S. officers in charge.—Philadelphia & Baltimore Railway taken possession of by U. S. Government.—25. Gov. Letcher, of Virginia, by proclamation, transferred that commonwealth to the Southern Confederacy.—26. Gov. Brown, of Georgia, by proclamation, prohibited the payment of all debts to Northern creditors till the end of hostilities.—27. The ports of Virginia and North Carolina were included in the blockade by the President.—29. Secession defeated in Maryland House of Delegates by a vote of 53 to 13.

May 3. Gov. Jackson, of Missouri, in a message to the legislature, recommended arming the State, and a union of sympathy and destiny with the slaveholding States.—President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling into service 42,000 volunteers for three years, and directing the increase of the regular army and navy of the United States.—Virginia admitted into the Southern Confederacy in secret session of Confederate Congress.—Police Commissioners of St. Louis, Mo., demanded of Capt. Lyon the removal of U. S. troops from all places and buildings occupied by them in that city outside the arsenal grounds.—Confederate States' Congress recognized war with the United States, and authorized issue of letters of marque and reprisal.—Legislature of Arkansas passed an unconditional Ordinance of Secession, 69 to 1.—7. League between Tennessee authorities and Confederate States.—9. The Confederate Congress authorized President Davis to raise such force for the war as he should deem expedient.—10. Maj.-Gen. R. E. Lee appointed to command the Confederate

forces in Virginia.—Maj-Gen. McClellan appointed to command the Department of Ohio.—The President directed that all officers in the army should take anew the oath of allegiance to the United States.—The secession military, under Gen. Frost, at St. Louis, Mo., surrendered to Capt. Lyon, commanding U. S. forces. A mob assailed the U. S. military after the surrender, and were fired on by them, and many killed and wounded.—15. A proclamation of neutrality with respect to the civil war in the U. S. was issued by Queen Victoria, in which the subjects of Great Britain were forbidden to take part in the contest, or endeavor to break a blockade "lawfully and effectually established."—18. Arkansas admitted to the Southern Confederacy.—20. Seizure by the Government of principal telegraph offices throughout the free States, and of the accumulated dispatches for twelve months.—Ordinance of Secession passed by North Carolina State Convention.—24. Assassination of Col. Ellsworth, at Alexandria, Va.

June 1. British Government prohibited U. S. and Confederate armed vessels from bringing any prizes to British ports.—3. Hon. Stephen A. Douglas died at Chicago.—4. Chief Justice Taney protests against the suspension of the *habeas corpus* by the President.—6. Gov. Pickens, of S. C., forbade the remittance of funds to Northern creditors. Vote of Tennessee in favor of secession.—12. Gov. Jackson, of Missouri, issued a proclamation calling 50,000 State militia into service, to protect the "lives, liberty and property of the citizens of the State."—West Virginia State Convention resolved to elect loyal State officers.—Maryland election resulted in the triumph of all the Union candidates but Winter Davis.—17. Western Virginia Convention unanimously declared their independence of the Eastern section of the State.—24. Secession of

Tennessee proclaimed by Gov. Harris. Vote 104,913 for, to 47,238 against.—25. Virginia vote announced to be 128,884 for, and 32,134 against secession.—Western Virginia government recognized by the President.

July 10. Loan bill passed by House of Representatives, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow $250,000,000, redeemable in twenty years.—Bill authorizing $500,000,000 and 500,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion, passed the Senate.—House of Representatives empowered the President to close the ports of seceded States.—16. Bill authorizing the President to call out militia to suppress the rebellion, passed the House of Representatives, and the bill to accept services of 500,000 volunteers.—19. The Captain-General of Cuba liberated all the vessels brought into Cuban ports by privateer Sumter as prizes.—20. Confederate Congress met at Richmond, Va.—21. Battle of Bull Run. Union defeat.—22. Brig.-Gen. Beauregard promoted to the rank of "General" in the Confederate army, the highest grade.—22. Maj.-Gen. McClellan assigned to command the Department of the Potomac.—30-31. Missouri State Convention abolished the State Legislature, declared the offices of Governor, Lieu.-Gov. and Sec. of State vacant, appointed special State officers, and provided for a special election by the people in Aug., 1862.

1861. August 1. Lieut.-Col. Baylor, commanding the Confederate forces in Arizona, issued a proclamation taking possession of New Mexico, in the name of the Confederate States, declaring all Federal offices vacant, and appointing a secretary, attorney-general and other officers.—5. Election in Kentucky for members of the Legislature, the returns showing a large Union majority.—6. Adjournment *sine die* of Special Congress at Washington.—10. Battle of Wilson's

Creek, Mo. Gen. Lyon, with 5200 men, was defeated by the combined forces of Gens. Price and McCulloch, 20,000. Gen. Lyon was killed. —12. C. J. Faulkner, ex-Minister of U. S. to France, arrested on a charge of treason.—14. Gen. Fremont declares martial law in St. Louis, Mo. All loyal men notified by Jeff. Davis to leave the Confederate States in forty days.—15. Proclamation of President Lincoln declaring commercial intercourse with the eleven States in rebellion unlawful, excepting such parts thereof as have or may become restored to loyal government, and forfeiting all vessels therefrom or bound to the same after fifteen days.—19. Passports required, by notice from the Department of State, from all persons leaving or arriving within the United States.—20. Gen. McClellan assumed command of the army of the Potomac.—24. A portion of the Cherokee Indians made an alliance with the "Southern Confederacy."

President Lincoln appoints 26 Sep. as a fast-day (12 Aug.).

The Kentucky Legislature meets (2 Sep.); in the Senate the vote is 27 for Union and 11 for Secession; in the House, 76 for Union and 24 for Secession.

The Confederate ironclad Merrimac makes its first appearance in sight of Fort Monroe (7 Oct). The Confederate steamer Theodore, with Mason and Slidell on board, escapes from Charleston, S. C.

Gen. Fremont and Secretary Cameron hold a conference. An attempt is made to burn the blockading fleet lying at the mouth of the Mississippi; the Confederate ram is disabled.

Secretary Seward sends a circular to the Governors of States advising sea-coast and lake defences (14 Oct.).

The second naval expedition, consisting of 80 vessels and 15,000 men, sails from Fortress

Monroe (29 Oct.); The naval forces are under Commodore Dupont; the land forces under Gen. Sherman.

Lieut.-Gen. Scott resigns as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the U. S. (31 Oct.); Gen. McClellan is appointed in his place (1 Nov.).

A party in Missouri pass an ordinance of Secession (2 Nov.).

Maj.-Gen. Fremont is removed from his command (2 Nov.), and is succeeded by Gen. Hunter in the command of the Western Department. Gen. Fremont returns to St. Louis, and is received there with the most enthusiastic tokens of regard.

Captain Wilkes, of the U. S. Navy, on the San Jacinto, stops the British mail-steamer Trent, and takes off Mason and Slidell, the Confederate Commissioners, as prisoners (8 Nov.), and takes them to Boston (19 Nov.)

The Confederate Congress meets at Richmond (18 Nov.).

Mason and Slidell are placed in Fort Warren (24 Nov.).

A party in Kentucky pass an ordinance of Secession (30 Nov.).

Gen. McClellan directs the observance of the Sabbath in all the camps of the U. S. Army (30 Nov.).

Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, is instructed by the British Government (30 Nov.) to leave America in 7 days, unless the U. S. Government consent to the unconditional liberation of Mason and Slidell.

Jefferson Davis is elected President of the Confederate States for six years (30 Nov.).

Congress votes thanks to Capt. Wilkes for capturing Mason and Slidell (2 Dec.); the foreign envoys at Washington protest against this act (3 Dec.).

News comes from England of a strong feeling concerning the arrest of Mason and Slidell (15

Dec.); the attitude assumed is threatening; troops are sent to Canada by the British Government as a precaution against military trouble.

Mason and Slidell are surrendered to the British Minister, Lord Lyons (27 Dec.).

Banks in New York and elsewhere suspend cash payments (30 Dec.).

The national expenses of the year are $85 387-313; the debt is $90,867,828; the imports are $345,650,153; and the exports, $228,699,486.

1862. Mason and Slidell leave Fort Warren and sail for England on the British steamer Rinaldo (1 Jan.).

Waldo P. Johnson and Trustan Polk, of Missouri, are expelled from the Senate (10 Jan.).

Simon Cameron resigns his position as Secretary of War (11 Jan.); E. M. Stanton is appointed in his place.

The Federal Government decides that the crews of all captured privateers are to be regarded as prisoners of war (3 Feb.). The Confederate steamer Nashville is ordered to leave Southampton harbor, Eng.; the U. S. steamer Tuscarora endeavors to follow, but is stopped by an English frigate

Commodore Foote, with 7 gunboats, attacks Fort Henry on the Tennessee River; the Confederate commander, Gen. Tilghman, surrenders the fort unconditionally (6 Feb.).

Grant captures Fort Donelson, with 15,000 prisoners (16 Feb.).

The Confederate Congress meets at Richmond (19 Feb.).

Grant captures Nashville, Tenn. (23 Feb.).

Jefferson Davis is inaugurated at Richmond as President, and A. H. Stephens as Vice-President, of the Southern Confederacy (22 Feb.).

Congress passes an Act for the additional issue of Treasury Notes (22 Feb.); by it $10,000,000, in notes of less than $5 are authorized in addition to the $50,000,000 previously authorized.

President Lincoln approves the Legal Tender Act passed by Congress (25 Feb.); by it the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to issue notes of not less than $5 to the amount of $150,000,000, not bearing interest, payable in Washington and New York, the notes to be legal tender for all debts, public and private, and to be received and paid by the Government for all purposes except duties on imports and interest on the public debt; those to be paid in gold.

The Confederate iron-plated steamer Merrimac, in Hampton Roads, sinks the Federal ship Cumberland and compels the Congress to surrender (8 March); but is repulsed by the Federal iron-clad floating battery Monitor (9 March).

Gen. McClellan takes command of the Army of the Potomac (11 March), Gen. Fremont of the Mountain Department, and Gen. Halleck of the Mississippi (11 March).

A severe battle commences at Pittsburg Landing between the Federals under Grant and the Confederates under Johnston and Beauregard, and Grant is driven from his position with severe loss (6 April). With the aid of Gen. Buell's reinforcements Grant recaptures (7 April) the camps from which he had been driven. Over 100,000 men are engaged in this sanguinary battle, and about 10,000 are killed and wounded on each side, Gen. Johnston being among the killed.

Congress passes a bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia (11 April); the Act provides for a Commission to remunerate loyal owners; not over $300 a slave is to be paid; and $1,000,000 is appropriated for the purpose; $100,000 are also appropriated for their colonization. An Act is also passed abolishing slavery in the "Territories of the United States."

The taking of New Orleans (24 April) by a naval force under Commodore Farragut, aided

by a land force under Gen. Butler, is one of the most remarkable exploits of this eventful year. The city is strongly defended; 75 miles below it are two strong forts; and below these a chain is stretched across the river with earth-works at each end; between the forts and the chain are 5 rafts filled with inflammable material, besides 13 gunboats, an iron-clad floating battery, and an iron ram. Commodore Farragut cannonades the forts in vain, but saves his vessels from the burning rafts by seizing and extinguishing each as it floats down. At last he decides to attempt to run by the forts with his fleet. He accordingly gets under way, and while the forts, the steamers and the battery all pour their fire upon the fleet, it steams steadily up the river till all danger is passed; the Union vessel Varuna alone sinks or disables 6 Confederate steamers; Farragut anchors off the quarantine station (24 April); and takes possession of New Orleans (25 April).

Gen. Butler enters New Orleans with a land force and proclaims martial law (1 May).

The Seward-Lyons treaty between Great Britain and the U. S. for the suppression of the slave-trade is ratified (20 May).

General Pope is assigned to the command of the Army of Virginia (26 June). The Confederates, under Gen. Robert E. Lee, attack McClellan's right wing at Mechanicsville (26 June).

President Lincoln gives approval to an Act of Congress granting aid for the construction of a railroad from the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean (1 July).

President Lincoln, in response to the official requests of the Governors of 18 States, calls for 300,000 volunteers (1 July). The battle of Malvern Hills closes a seven days' struggle with the repulse of the Confederates (1 July).

Gen. Halleck is appointed commander of all the land forces of the U. S. (11 July).

The Confederates capture Cynthiana, Ky. (17). President Lincoln sanctions a bill confiscating the property and emancipating the slaves of all persons who shall continue in arms against the Union for 60 days (17 July).

Gen. Halleck orders Gen. McClellan to evacuate the Peninsula of Virginia (3 Aug.).

The War Department issues an order (4 Aug.) for a draft of 300,000 more men for the service of the U. S., to serve for nine months, unless previously discharged; it is also directed that if any State shall not by the 15th of August furnish its quota of men, by volunteers, the deficiency shall be made up by a special draft from the militia.

The *Habeas Corpus* Act is ordered to be suspended (8 Aug.). Orders are also issued for the arrest of all persons found discouraging enlistments, prohibiting the issuance of passports, and enjoining newspaper correspondents from accompanying the armies (8 Aug.).

The Federals are defeated at the second battle of Bull Run, and retreat under cover of the night (30 Aug.).

The battle of Chantilly is fought in the midst of a thunder-storm (1 Sep.); Gen. Kearney is shot by a Confederate soldier of whom he made some enquiry by mistake, supposing him to be a Union soldier; Gen. Stevens is also killed. Gen. Burnside's army evacuate Fredericksburg (1). Union troops evacuate Lexington, Ky. (1). The Confederates are expected to attack Louisville (1), and there is great excitement in Cincinnati.

Gen. Lee crosses the Potomac with his army (5 Sep.), and marches to Fredrick, the bands playing "Maryland, my Maryland." Gen. Bragg enters Kentucky on his grand raid (5).

Gen. Banks is assigned to the command of the fortifications in and around Washington (7). Gen. McClellan takes the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac (7). Cumberland Gap is evacuated by the Federals (7).

The Confederates evacuate Frederick (9).

Lee, at bay, takes a strong position behind Antietam Creek (14); a desperate struggle ensues at the Bridge, and both forces are nearly destroyed; reinforcements come up, and Harper's Ferry surrenders (15); the Confederates attempt to blockade the Ohio (15); and then re-cross the Potomac into Virginia (18).

President Lincoln issues his Emancipation Proclamation (22 Sep.): "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any effort they may make for their personal freedom." The President expounds the meaning of this proclamation in the following message to Congress: "In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the best hope of earth. The way is plain, peaceful, glorious, just a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

McClellan removed from command, and Burnside takes his place (Nov. 7).

President Lincoln enjoins on the forces the orderly observance of the Sabbath (16 Nov.).

Gen. Banks' expedition sails for New Orleans (6 Dec.).

Union defeat at Fredericksburg. Great slaughter (Dec. 13).

The Sioux Indians, becoming dissatisfied with the payment of money claimed by them, take

the war-path (26 Dec.); Little Crow and other chiefs perpetrate barbarous outrages in Dakota, Iowa and Minnesota; hundreds of the inhabitants are butchered; and thousands, driven from their homes, see all they possess burned by these remorseless wretches. The savages are finally routed. Thirty-nine of them are tried, condemned to death, and hanged at Mankato, Minn. (26 Dec.).

The money issued by the Confederate Government has steadily depreciated in value. Flour brings $40 per barrel; salt $1 per lb.; a pair of boots, $50. Woolen clothing is scarce, and the army depend largely on captures from the more ample Federal stores. A spool of thread came to be worth $20; a pound of sugar, $75; and a pound of black pepper, $300.

The National expenses for the year are $570,841,700; the debt is $514,211,371; the imports are $205,771,729; and the exports, $213,069,519.

1863. President Lincoln issues his Emancipation Proclamation (1 Jan.), announced in Sept., 1862. The number of slaves made nominally free by this proclamation is about 3,120,000.

Gen. Burnside is relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac (28 Jan.), and Gen. Hooker is appointed in his place. Gen. Sumner and Gen. Franklin are also relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac (28). A steamer and 300 Confederates are captured near Van Buren, Mo. (28).

Maj.-Gen. Burnside is appointed to command the Department of the Ohio (2 Feb).

A disloyal State Convention at Frankfort, Ky., is dispersed by the military (18).

President Lincoln sanctions (3 March) a financial bill which has passed Congress, the first section of which authorizes a loan of $300,000,000 for the current fiscal year, for which bonds are to be issued, payable at such times as the Secre-

tary of the Treasury may elect, at not less than ten and not more than forty years. A further clause provides for the issue of Treasury Notes to the amount of $400,000,000, to run not more than three years, to bear interest at six per cent, and to be legal tender. Fractional currency is to be issued to the amount of $50,000,000.

Conscription Act passed (12 March). By this act all able-bodied male citizens, and all persons of foreign birth who have declared their intention of becoming citizens, and who have voted, between the ages of 20 and 45, are made liable to be called into the service of the country, unless specially excepted. The exceptions include the physically or mentally incapable; the only son of a widow, or of infirm parents requiring their son's labor for actual support; the only brother of children without father or mother, under twelve, dependent on him for support; and the father of motherless children under twelve dependent on him for support. The conscripts are divided into two classes: First, all below 35 years of age, and all unmarried persons between 35 and 45; second, married persons between 35 and 45. The second class are not to be called into the service till the first class are exhausted. It is estimated that, after allowing for all exceptions, the President has 4,000,000 men he may call upon for service. The act also provides that any person drafted may be discharged by payment of a sum, not exceeding $300, to be fixed by the Secretary of War.

Admiral Farragut, with seven of his fleet, passes Port Hudson (14 March) after a fierce engagement, in which the Mississippi is disabled, and then burned by the Admiral's orders.

Admiral Farragut, with the Hartford, Switzerland and Albatross, engages and passes the grand Gulf batteries (1 April); he pursues his course (2 April) as far as Red River, destroying Confederate gunboats.

At Richmond, Va., exasperated women create a bread riot (2 April).

Gen. Grant's army lands near Port Gibson, Miss. (30 April); defeats the Confederates (1 May), taking 500 prisoners; and he begins his march to Vicksburg.

The battle of Chancellorsville takes place between the armies of Hooker and Lee (2 May); after a very fierce battle, in which the illustrious "Stonewall" Jackson is wounded, by mistake, by his own men, the Federals are checked.

"Stonewall" Jackson dies at Richmond, Va. (10 May), of wounds and pneumonia, aged 39.

At the battle of Champion Hill, Miss., Grant drives the forces under Pemberton as far as the Big Black River (16); and the Federals, under Grant and Porter, invest Vicksburg (18); they assault Vicksburg (22), and are repulsed after a very heavy fight.

Gen. Hunter is removed from the command of the Department of the South (1 June), and is succeeded by Gen. Gilmore.

Lee marches into Maryland (15 June); President Lincoln calls for 100,000 men to repel the invasion. Lee advances as far north as Chambersburg (16); and Gen. Milroy makes another unsuccessful attack on Harper's Ferry (16).

Rear-Admiral Foote dies in New York City (26 June).

General Hooker, at his own request, is re-relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac (29 June), and is succeeded by Gen. Meade.

The battle of Gettysburg begins (1 July); Gen. Geo. G. Meade commands the Union forces, with an army of 80,000; Gen. Lee commands the Confederates, with an army about equal. The Confederates were utterly defeated after a three days battle, in which both armies showed almost unexampled valor.

July 4.—Vicksburg surrendered unconditionally by Gen. Pemberton, with 27,000 men and two hundred cannon.

1863. President Lincoln rejects the demand for the suppression of the conscription in New York State (7 Aug.).

President Lincoln suspends the *Habeas Corpus* Act (15 Sept.).

The Department of the Cumberland and the Mississippi are consolidated under Gen. Grant (20 Oct.). Gen. Rosecrans is succeeded by Gen. Thompson (20).

The storming and capture of "Lookout Mountain" (24 Nov.); Hooker's celebrated "fight above the clouds;" Gen. Bragg is defeated (24 Nov.).

Jefferson Davis issues his annual message (7 Dec.). U. S. Congress re-assembles (7).

Longstreet's soldiers begin to desert at the rate of from twenty to fifty per day (23 Dec.).

The national expenses for the year are $895,796,630; the debt is $1,098,793,181; the imports are $252,919,920; and the exports, $305,884,998.

1864. A great meeting is held at Cooper Institute, New York, to celebrate the First Anniversary of Freedom (1 Jan.).

President Lincoln orders a draft for 500,000 men (1 Feb.).

Gen. W. T. Sherman, with his troops, leaves Vicksburg (3 Feb.), and arrives at Meridian, Miss., on his great raid into the heart of the enemy's country (15 Feb.); he destroys the railway communications of the enemy and much stores.

Gen. Grant is appointed to the command of all the armies (9 March), under the title of Lieutenant-General. He plans two simultaneous movements: one against Richmond, Va., by the Army of the Potomac, under the command of Gen. Meade; the other against Atlanta, Ga.,

under the direction of Gen. W. T. Sherman, who undertakes to march an army across the interior of the rebellious States, from the mountains to the sea.

The Governors of Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Indiana offer to raise for the General Government 85,000 men for a hundred days (23 April); the Government accepts the offer (26 April), and appropriates $20,000,000 for payment of the men.

Grant's army moves across the Rapidan, toward Chancellorsville and the Wilderness (3 May).

The Bill for Reconstruction is passed (4 May).

A draft is ordered in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Minnesota, Kentucky and Maryland (5 May).

Lee makes a series of unsuccessful attacks upon the Federal forces in the Wilderness (5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 May); during the first two days, in the bloody fray, that lasted from the dawn of the 5th to sunset of the 6th, 15,000 men on each side are slaughtered.

After the battle of Spottsylvania Court House (9–12 May) Grant telegraphs to Lincoln that he proposes "to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer."

Sherman moves from Chattanooga, Tenn. (8 May), on his advance to Atlanta.

Nathaniel Hawthorne dies (16 May), aged 60.

The South Carolina Union Convention meets at Beaufort (17 May).

Lincoln is renominated for President, and Andrew Johnson for Vice-President (8 June).

The Fugitive Slave Law is repealed in the House of Representatives (13 June).

Grant's army crosses the James River (14 June).

Gen. Leonidas Polk is killed at Pine Mountain, Ga. (14); Sherman advances toward Kenesaw (14).

Confederate privateers have been for some time very destructive to American merchant vessels; the Shenandoah has destroyed thirty-four whale-ships in the Arctic Seas, and the Alabama has taken sixty-five vessels. The Alabama is attacked (19 June) by the U. S. S. Kearsarge, Captain Winslow, off Cherbourg, France. During the action, the two vessels steam at the rate of seven miles an hour, and swing round one another in circles so as to bring their broadsides to bear. After describing seven of these circles, and coming within a quarter of a mile of each other, the Alabama is sunk, Captain Semmes and his men being picked up by an English yacht.

Secretary Chase resigns (30 June), and Hon. William Fessenden is appointed to fill the vacancy.

Sherman's army crosses the Chattahoochee (16 July) in pursuit of Johnston. Johnston is superseded by Gen. John B. Hood (18).

Hood makes a desperate but unsuccessful attack on Sherman's lines round Atlanta, losing not less than 20,000 killed, wounded and prisoners (22 July); Gen. McPherson is killed by a Confederate at this battle. The Louisiana State Convention adopts the new constitution abolishing slavery (22).

A mine containing six tons of powder, under a Confederate fort at Petersburg, explodes, destroying the fort and garrison (30 July). Chambersburg, Pa., is burnt by the Confederates (30).

Admiral Farragut's fleet passes Forts Morgan and Gaines (5 Aug.); the Confederate ram Tennessee is captured, and several other vessels are destroyed; and Fort Gaines surrenders, and Fort Powell is evacuated (5).

McClellan is nominated for President by the National Democratic Convention at Chicago, and Geo. H. Pendleton for Vice-President (29 Aug.).

Federal troops take possession of Atlanta (2 Sept.).

The Confederate General John Morgan is killed near Greenville, Tenn. (7 Sept.).

Sherman's army is concentrated at Atlanta (9 Sept.).

At the battle of Winchester, Sheridan captures 5000 prisoners, all the wounded, and five guns (19 Sept.). The steamer Island Queen is captured and sunk on Lake Erie (19).

Gen. Grant advances his lines on the north side of the James River to within seven miles of Richmond (28 Sept.).

The Confederates under Gen. Sterling Price invade Missouri (28).

Sheridan defeats the Confederates at Cedar Creek (19 Oct.).

The Presidential election takes place (8 Nov.); the Republican candidates, Abraham Lincoln, President, and Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, are elected, receiving the electoral votes of 22 States, 213 in all. The Democratic party had nominated Gen George B. McClellan for President, and Geo. H. Pendleton for Vice-President. They secured only the votes of New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky, 21 in all. McClellan resigns his command in the army (8).

General Sherman begins (16 Nov.) his great march from Atlanta to the sea, the army of 60,000 advancing in two colums under Generals Howard and Slocum, and largely subsisting on what could be found in the fertile country through which it passed.

At the battle of Franklin (30 Nov.), Hood is repulsed with a loss of 5000 men, guns, flags, and 1000 prisoners; the Union loss is 1500.

The second session of the 38th Congress meets (5 Dec.).

Gen Thomas defeats the Confederates under Gen. Hood near Nashville, Tenn. (14–16 Dec.).

Sherman storms Fort McAllister (13 Dec.), and enters Savannah (21).

General Butler and Admiral Porter are repulsed in an attack on Wilmington (24–25 Dec.).

The National expenses for the year, including payments on loans, are $1,298,144,656; the debt is $1,740,690,489; the imports are $329,562,895; and the exports, $320,035,199.

1865. Gen. Sherman resumes his great march northward (6 June). Writing of this march, he says: "Christmas found us at Savannah. Waiting there only long enough to fill our wagons, we began another march, which for peril, labor and results, will compare with any ever made by an organized army. The floods of the Savannah, the swamps of the Combahee and the Edisto, the high hills and rocks of the Santee, the flat quagmires of the Pedee and Cape Fear Rivers, were all passed in mid-winter, with its floods and rain, in the face of an accumulating enemy; and after the battles of Averysborough and Bentonsville, we once more came out of the wilderness to meet our friends at Goldsboro."

A meeting is held at Savannah to thank New York and Boston for their generous supplies of food and clothing (25 Jan.).

A debate is held in the Confederate Congress concerning the enlistment of negroes (26 Jan.).

The Confederate Vice-President, Alex. H. Stephens, Senator R. M. T. Hunter and Judge Campbell come as Peace Commissioners within Grant's lines (30 Jan.). Sherman reaches Savannah River, 50 miles above Savannah (30).

President Lincoln arrives at Fortress Monroe to meet the Confederate Commissioners (2 Feb.); the meeting (3) is without result. At Richmond, gold is 4400 per cent premium (2).

Gen. Lee assumes supreme command of the Confederate forces (17 Feb.), and recommends arming the blacks.

Sherman captures Columbia, S. C. (17 Feb.). The Confederates evacuate Charleston, and it is occupied (18) by Union forces under Gen. Gilmore; 200 pieces of artillery and a large supply of ammunition are captured; 6000 bales of cotton are destroyed; much ammunition stored in the railroad depot is destroyed, and many lives are lost by the explosion.

Fort Anderson, N. C., is taken (19 Feb.).

Schofield captures Wilmington (22). The Confederate Congress decrees that the colored people shall be armed (22).

Inauguration of President Lincoln and Andrew Johnson as Vice-President (4 March).

The Confederate Congress adjourns *sine die* (17 March).

The Confederates attack General Grant and are severely defeated (25 March). The three days' battle at Five Forks begins (31); Sheridan turns Lee's flank and totally defeats him (1 April); Lee retreats (2). Richmond is taken (2–3 April).

General Lee and his whole army surrender to Gen. Grant at Appomattox Court House (9 April).

The Union flag is hoisted over Fort Sumter (12 April).

On the evening of 14th April, President Lincoln, Mrs. Lincoln, Major Rathbone and Miss Morris occupy a box at Ford's Theatre, Washington; at about half-past nine o'clock J. Wilkes Booth creeps stealthily into the box, shoots the President, rushes to the front of the box, brandishes a large knife, shouts "*Sic semper tyrannis!* The South is avenged," and leaps on to the stage; his spur catches in the American flag, and he breaks his leg. The ball enters just behind the President's left ear and lodges in the brain; he is at once removed to a private house opposite the theatre.

About the same hour an attempt is made to assassinate Secretary Seward and his son, both being wounded.

President Lincoln dies at twenty-two minutes past 7 o'clock, a. m. (15 April). Johnson takes the oath of office as President (15.)
1865. J. Wilkes Booth, the murderer of the President, after ten days' wandering and misery, is tracked to a barn near Bowling Green, Va., and refusing to surrender is shot (26 April).

Jefferson Davis captured (May 10) at Irwinsville, 75 miles south of Macon, Ga., by the 4th Michigan cavalry, under Col. Pritchard, of Gen. Wilson's command; also his wife, mother, Postmaster-General Regan, Col. Harrison, private secretary, Col. Johnson, and others.

President Johnson proclaims the opening of the Southern ports (22 May).

Kirby Smith surrenders (26 May), and the last armed Confederate organization succumbs.

President Johnson proclaims an amnesty, with certain exceptions (29 May).

The Confederate Gen. Hood and staff surrender (31 May).

President Johnson rescinds the order requiring passports from all travelers entering the U. S. (22 June).

The trial of Payne, Atzerott, Harold, and Mrs. Surratt for complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln is concluded (29 June); they are found guilty (29), and executed (7 July).

A national Thanksgiving for peace is held (2 Nov.).

All restrictions on southern ports are removed (1 Sep.).

Proclamation of the President putting an end to martial law in Kentucky (12 Oct.). Pardon of Alexander Stephens and other southern officials (12).

The Confederate privateer Shenandoah sur-

renders at Liverpool (6 Nov.), after having destroyed about thirty vessels; the crew are released on parole (8), and the vessel is given up to the American Consul (9).

The *Habeas Corpus* Act is restored in the Northern States (1 Dec.).

The correspondence between the British and U. S. Governments respecting the depredations of the Alabama, Shenandoah, etc., begun in April, closes 2 Dec.; the Earl of Clarendon maintains that "no armed vessel departed during the war from a British port, to cruise against the commerce of the U. S."

The 39th Congress meets, 4 Dec.; the Republican party predominate, and move resolutions against the restoration of the Southern States to the Union; eighty-five members from the Southern States are excluded from Congress.

The National expenses for the year, including payments on loans, are $1,897,674,224; the debt is $2,682,593,026; the imports are $248,555,652; and the exports $323,743,187.

1866. The celebration of the centenary of American Methodism opens on the first Sunday in Jan. and closes on the last Sunday in Oct.; during this period the sum of $8,032,755 is collected for church purposes.

The U. S. Government, having notified France that a longer continuance of French troops in Mexico will be disagreeable to it, is informed, 9 Jan., that the Emperor will withdraw a portion in Nov., and the remainder early next year; our Minister to France is subsequently informed that military reasons will prevent any withdrawals this year. Gen. Ortega, a pretender to the Presidency, after spending several months in the U. S., leaves New Orleans 30 Oct., and with his suite is arrested at Brazos Santiago, 3 Nov., by order of Gen. Sheridan, 3 Nov. Gen. Sherman and Judge Campbell, special commissioners to

tender the sympathy and support of the U. S. to the Republican Government of President Juarez, leave New York on the U. S. S. Susquehanna, 11 Nov., and reach Vera Cruz 27.

Congress passes a bill to enlarge the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, 6 Feb.; the President vetoes it, 19, and Congress passes it over the veto, 16 July.

The President declares his hostility to Congress and denounces the Reconstruction Committee in a speech at the Executive Mansion, 22 Feb.

Congress passes the Civil Rights bill, 16 March; it is vetoed by the President, 27, and is passed over his veto 9 April.

A proclamation is issued by the President, 2 April, declaring the insurrection in the Southern States, excepting Texas, at an end.

Jefferson Davis is indicted by the Grand Jury of the U. S. Circuit Court, of Va., 8 May; Judge Underwood declines to release him on bail, 11 June.

A new Atlantic cable is finished, early in May, and successfully laid by the Great Eastern, 27 July; the lost cable of 1865 is picked up, 1 Sep., spliced, 2, and laid without accident.

Congress adopts the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, 13 June.

By Act of Congress, 23 July, Tennessee is formally restored to the Union.

Congress creates the grades of Admiral and Vice-Admiral in the navy and revives that of General in the army, 25 July; Farragut is promoted to Admiral, Porter to Vice-Admiral, Grant to General, and Sherman to Lieutenant-General.

A gold medal, purchased by the subscriptions of 40,000 French citizens, for Mrs. Abraham Lincoln is delivered by a committee to U. S. Minister Bigelow, at Paris, 1 Dec.

A bill granting the elective franchise to citizens of the District of Columbia, irrespective of race or color, passes Congress, 14 Dec.

The national expenses for the year are $520,809,416; the debt is $2,783,425,879; the imports are $445,512,158; and the exports, $550,684,277.

1867. The President vetoes the District of Columbia Bill, 7 Jan. On the same day Representative Ashley, of Ohio, charges him with the commission of acts which are high crimes and misdemeanors, for which he ought to be impeached; and a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to investigate the subject is adopted by a vote of 137 to 38.

The bill for the admission of Colorado into the Union is adopted, but the President vetoes it, 28 Jan.; the bill for the admission of Nebraska is also adopted; it is vetoed, 29 Jan., and passed over the veto, 1 March.

The Evangelical Alliance of the U. S. is organized in New York, 30 Jan.; with William E. Dodge as president.

Mexico City is evacuated by the French, 5 Feb.; Maximilian suddenly leaves La Teja, and unites his small force with the armies of Miramon and Mejia at Queretaro, where with 8000 adherents they are besieged by Gen. Escobedo during March and April; by the treachery of Gen. Lopez, the Emperor's bosom friend, the Liberal troops are admitted to the city, 15 May, and take the entire Imperial force prisoners, 15 May; a court-martial for the trial of Maximilian and Gens. Miramon and Mejia assembles, 13 June, and condemns them to be shot, 16; despite the protest of the Prussian Minister to Mexico and the appeals for clemency of Secretary Seward, the sentence is carried out, 19; the body of Maximilian is given to the Consul-General of Austria, and after being embalmed is conveyed to Austria on an Imperial steamer.

Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, introduces the "Military Reconstruction Bill," providing for the division of the insurrectionary States into five military districts, into Congress, 6 Feb.; it passes the House, 13, the Senate, with amendments, 16, both Houses concur in it, 2 March, the President vetoes it the same day, and Congress passes it over the veto.

An Act designed to restrict the exercise of the power of appointment and removal by the President is adopted by Congress, 2 March, vetoed by the President the same day, and passed over the veto.

Congress adopts a national bankruptcy bill, and establishes a Department of Education, 2 March; Henry Barnard, LL. D., President of St. John's College, Annapolis, is appointed and confirmed Commissioner of Education, 16.

The 40th Congress convenes, 4 March; Schuyler Colfax is elected Speaker of the House for the third time, and Edward McPherson is re-elected clerk; a supplement to the Reconstruction Act is concurred in, 19, vetoed by the President, 23, and passed over the veto.

A treaty is signed between the U. S. and Russia, 30 March, for the transfer of the tract of land known as Russian America (Alaska) to the U. S. for the sum of $7,200,000; ratifications are exchanged, 20 June, and the formal transfer is made to Gen. Rousseau, at New Archangel (Sitka), 9 Oct.

Jefferson Davis is taken to Richmond, Va., 13 May, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, and on the application of his counsel is admitted to bail in the sum of $100,000, to appear at Richmond, 26 Nov. The following act as sureties on the bond: Horace Greeley, Augustus Schell, N. Y.; Aristides Welsh, David K. Jackman, Phila.; W. H. McFarland, Richard B. Haxall, Isaac Davenport, Abraham Warwick, G. A. Myers, W. W.

Crump, James Lyons, J. A. Meredith, W. H. Lyons, John M. Botts, Thomas W. Boswell, and James Thomas, Jr., all of Virginia; on 26 Nov. the examination is adjourned to March next.

An international monetary conference is opened at Paris, 17 June, and closed, 9 July; the creation of a unitary common coin of gold is agreed to, and all the governments represented are asked to give a definite answer to the proposition before 15 Feb., 1868.

President Johnson asks Secretary Stanton to resign, 5 Aug.; the Secretary declines, and the President removes him, 12, and appoints Gen. Grant, Secretary of War *pro tem;* Stanton retires under protest; the President gives the Senate his reason for removing the Secretary, 12 Dec.

The President issues an amnesty proclamation which covers nearly all the whites of the Southern States, 7 Sep.

A large number of American Episcopalian bishops take part in a Pan-Anglican Synod, held in London, 24–27 Sep.

The King of Denmark announces, 25 Oct., his resolution to cede the islands of St. Thomas and St. John, in the West Indies, to the U. S.

The national expenses for the year are $357,542,675; the debt is $2,692,199,215; the imports $417,831,571; and the exports, $440,722,228.

1868. The Senate refuses to approve of the President's suspension of Secretary Stanton, 13 Jan., and it thereby becomes void; Gen. Grant immediately vacates the office and Mr. Stanton takes possession; on 21 Feb. the President again removes Mr. Stanton and appoints Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas, U. S. A., Secretary *ad interim*; the President notifies the Senate, and Mr. Stanton the House, of the action the same day; Mr. Stanton refuses to vacate the office, and has Gen. Thomas arrested, 22; the House resolves, 22, by a vote of 126 to 47, that

Andrew Johnson be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors; Messrs. Thaddeus Stevens, Penna.; Benjamin F. Butler, Mass.; John A. Bingham, Ohio; George S. Boutwell, Mass.; James F. Wilson, Iowa; Thomas Williams, Penna.; and John A. Logan, Ills., are appointed managers, on the part of the House, Mr. Butler being selected as chief prosecutor, 29; the articles of impeachment are accepted by the House, 2 March; the Senate organizes as a high court of impeachment, with Chief Justice Chase presiding, 5; the President is summoned to the bar, 7, and appears by counsel, 13; ten days are granted to prepare an answer to the indictment: the House denies every averment in the answer, 23, and the trial opens, 30; the examination of witnesses closes, 22 April: the arguments of counsel are finished, 6 May, and the entire Senate votes, 26, when 35 pronounce the President guilty and 19 not guilty; he is therefore acquitted by one vote. Mr. Stanton retires from office the same day, and Gen. John M. Schofield is appointed and confirmed Secretary of War.

An Embassy from the Emperor of China, headed by Hon. Anson Burlingame, the American Minister, reaches San Francisco, 31 March; after a short stay the members proceed to Washington, *via* New York, and enter upon negotiations for a special treaty, containing additions to the treaty of 18 June, 1858; the new treaty is signed, 4 July, and ratified by the Senate, 16; during the stay of the Embassy in the U. S., Mr. Burlingame and the Chinese princes are the recipients of grand ovations.

The National Republican Convention is held in Chicago, assembling 20 May; Joseph R. Hawley, of Conn., is chosen permanent president; the platform denounces all forms of repudiation of the national debt, and condemns the course of President Johnson; Gen. Grant is nominated for

the Presidency, receiving 650 votes; on the sixth ballot for Vice-President, Schuyler Colfax is nominated, receiving 522 votes.

Congress passes a bill, 12 June, to admit North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida to representation; a bill to admit Arkansas is vetoed by the President, 20, and passed over the veto.

The National Democratic Convention is held in New York, convening 4 July; Horatio Seymour is chosen permanent president, 6; the platform demands the immediate restoration to all the States of their rights in the Union, amnesty for all past political offences, reform of abuses in administration, payment of the public debt, and the subordination of the military to the civil power; on the 22d ballot, Horatio Seymour is nominated for President, receiving the entire vote, 317; Gen. Frank P. Blair receives the nomination for Vice-President.

An amnesty proclamation is issued by the President, 4 July, pardoning all persons in the Southern States except those under presentment or indictment in any court of the U. S, having competent jurisdiction.

Secretary Seward issues a notice of the adoption of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution by a majority of the States, 20 July.

In the Presidential election, 3 Nov., Grant and Colfax receive 3,015,887 popular and 214 electoral votes, and Seymour and Blair 2,703,249 popular and 80 electoral votes.

Fort Lafayette, New York harbor, is destroyed by fire, 1 Dec.

The President issues a second amnesty proclamation, 25 Dec., declaring unconditionally and without reservation, a full pardon and amnesty to every person who participated in the late insurrection.

The cotton crop for the year yields $250,000,000, or $90,000,000 more than in 1860.

1869. The 15th Amendment to the Constitution, giving the right of suffrage to all citizens of the Republic, without regard to race, color, or previous condition, is recommended by a joint resolution of Congress, 26 Feb.; it is subsequently ratified by the requisite number of States.

Gen. U. S. Grant is inaugurated eighteenth President of the U. S., 4 March; the 41st Congress assembles at noon, the same day.

The President recommends and Congress sanctions the appointment of a number of members of the Society of Friends as Government agents among the Indians, April.

During the month of June, a lay vote is taken in all the Methodist Churches in the U. S., on the long-agitated question of lay representation; the total vote cast is about 250,000, of which 170,000 are cast in favor of the change, and about 80,000 against.

President Grant appoints Gen. Babcock, 2 June, a special agent to obtain information concerning the Dominican Republic; on his return from the island, he renders a report favorable to the project of annexation; he is again sent to the island to assist the U. S. Commercial Agent, Raymond H. Perry, to negotiate for the annexation of the whole territory of the Republic to the U. S.; a treaty for the annexation of the territory, and a convention for the lease of the Bay and Peninsula of Samana are concluded, 29 Nov.; the Senate rejects the treaty after an exciting debate.

George Peabody again lands at New York, 10 June; he now endows the Peabody Museum, at Salem, Mass., with $150,000; gives $30,000 to Newburyport for a library; $30,000 to Phillips Academy, Andover; $20,000 to the Massachusetts Historical Society; $20,000 to the Maryland Historical Society; $25,000 to Kenyon College; $10,000 to the Public Library at Thetford, Vt.;

$60,000 to Washington College, Va.; and adds $1,400,000 to his Southern Education Fund. He leaves for London, 30 Sept., and dies there 4 Nov.; the funeral services are held in Westminster Abbey, 12, and the body is placed on the British turret-steamship Monarch for transportation to the U. S., 11 Dec.

A great musical jubilee, projected by Patrick S. Gilmore, to commemorate the restoration of peace in the U. S. is held in Boston, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 June.

A soldiers' national monument, erected on the battlefield of Gettysburg, is dedicated, 1 July, Gen. Meade, the hero of the fight, making the address.

A gold clique in New York produces a panic, 24 Sept., by forcing the price of gold; it sells in the morning at 150, and by noon at 162½; the most intense excitement prevails, until the Government announces that it will relieve the market by selling gold, when the price falls to 133.

The Spanish Government has 30 gunboats built in New York; they are seized by U. S. Marshals on a charge of being intended for war against a friendly nation, Peru; Judge Blatchford releases them, 14 Dec., and 18 leave under convoy of a Spanish frigate, 19.

During the year, the President appoints J. Lothrop Motley, U. S. Minister to Great Britain, vice Reverdy Johnson, recalled; John Jay, Minister to Austria; Andrew G. Curtin, Minister to Russia; Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, Minister to Spain; and Moses H. Grinnell, Collector of the Port of New York.

1870. Fenians begin congregating in force at different points along the Canadian border in New York and Vermont, 22 May. The present campaign contemplates a movement into Wyoming Territory, the capture of the cannon and arms of the British expedition against Louis Riel and a

raid on the eastern frontier between Kingston and Montreal. President Grant issues a warning proclamation, 24; over 1000 men gather at Burlington and nearly 3000 at St. Albans, Vt.; Gen. O'Neill orders a Fenian advance early in the morning, 25, and shortly afterward an engagement occurs at Cook's Corners, St. Armand; after an hour's skirmishing, O'Neill orders a rest, and retires to a neighboring building where he is arrested by Gen. George Foster, U. S. Marshal; O'Neill threatens resistance, but Foster forces him into a carriage at the point of a pistol, and drives him through his men to St. Albans, where he is lodged in jail. Fighting is resumed, but the Fenians are soon forced to fall back; an engagement occurs at Trout River, 27, in which the invaders are routed. The subsequent arrest of the leaders of both movements puts an end to the scheme.

Admiral David G. Farragut, U. S. N., dies at Portsmouth, N. H., 15 Aug., aged 69; the funeral is held in New York, 30 Sep. President Grant and other distinguished officers of the army and navy participating.

Upon the breaking out of the Franco-Prussian war, President Grant issues a neutrality proclamation, 22 Aug.; recruiting in New York for the French armies, and the presence there of several French war-vessels, lead him to issue another, 8 Oct., particularly defining the duties of citizens of a neutral nation.

Gen. Robert E. Lee, Commander-in-chief of the Confederate armies, dies at Lexington, Va., 12 Oct., aged 62; the funeral is held at Washington and Lee College, of which he had been president since 1866.

In the U. S. Senate, Mr. Morton introduces a resolution for the appointment of Commissioners to proceed to San Domingo and inquire into all the facts bearing on the question of annexation,

12 Dec.; in the House—the same day—Mr. Banks offers a joint resolution for the appointment of commissioners to negotiate a treaty with San Domingo for the acquisition of all its territory by the U. S.; Mr. Morton's resolution is laid on the table, but is taken up, 20, and, despite Mr. Sumner's bitter opposition, is passed by a vote of 32 to 9, 30 being absent; President Grant appoints Hon. Benj. F. Wade, Ohio; President A. D. White, of Cornell University, and Hon. S. G. Howe, Mass., commissioners to proceed immediately to San Domingo, and the U. S. S. Tennessee is ordered into commission to convey the party thither.

1871. By Act of Congress, the income tax law is repealed, 26 Jan.

Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister to the U. S., under instructions from his Government, proposes to Secretary Fish a joint commission for the settlement of the troubles between the U. S. and Great Britain, growing out of the fisheries question, 26 Jan.; Mr. Fish replies, 30, expressing the desire of the President that the Alabama claims shall also be discussed, to which the Minister assents. The President, 9 Feb., nominates Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; Robert C. Schenck, U. S. Minister to Great Britain; E. R. Hoar, Attorney-General; Justice Samuel Nelson, U. S. Supreme Court; and George H. Williams, U. S. Senator, as commissioners on the part of the U. S.; they are confirmed by the Senate, 10. Queen Victoria appoints the Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Prof. Montague Bernard, commissioners on the part of Great Britain. The High Joint Commission begins its sessions in Washington, 27, Lord Tenterden and J. Bancroft Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, acting as joint protocolists. A treaty is signed by the

commissioners, 8 May, providing for the settlement by the arbitration of a mixed commission of all the questions at issue; this treaty is promptly ratified by both governments, and they join in asking the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Italy, and the President of the Swiss Confederation to appoint each an arbitrator. The Mixed Commission, consisting of Charles Francis Adams, U. S.; Sir Alexander Cockburn, Great Britain; ex-President Staempfli, Switzerland; Count Sclopis, Italy; and Baron Itajuba, Brazil, meets in Geneva, and organizes early in Dec. The British-American Claims Commission, for other claims, is composed of Russell Gurney, Great Britain; Judge J. R. Fraser, U. S.; and Count Corti, of Italy; the tribunal adjourns to 15 June next.

A mass-meeting of the citizens of New York is held, 4 Sept., to consider the mismanagement of the city and county finances and the exposures of the Tweed Ring; a committee of seventy eminent citizens is chosen to investigate the frauds, and Charles O'Conor is selected as legal adviser; indictments are found against Mayor Hall, William M. Tweed, Commissioner of Public Works, Peter B. Sweeney, Commissioner of Parks, Comptroller Connelly, and others; they are arrested, 26 Oct., and admitted to bail; Connelly flees the country, and Tweed is again arrested, 15 Dec., on a charge of felony. Mayor Hall was upon trial acquitted.

Chicago has a $1,000,000 fire, 7 Oct. On the following evening another conflagration breaks out, causing a loss of 250 lives and the destruction of 17,500 buildings; more than 2000 acres of space are burned over, including the business part of the city; upward of 98,000 are rendered homeless; the total loss is computed at nearly $200,000,000; the whole country and many European cities respond quickly and nobly to the cries for relief.

1872. Col. James Fisk, Jr., is shot in the Grand Central Hotel building, New York, by Edward S. Stokes, 6 Jan., and dies two days later, aged 37.

Gov. Warmouth, of La., in his message to the Legislature, 8 Jan., charges enormous frauds upon the House of Representatives and its Speaker, Col. Carter; the Carter party withdraw and begin a movement for the removal of Gov. Warmouth and the seizure of the State House; the Governor places all the military and police force of the State under the command of Gen. Longstreet; Carter calls upon the people to arm and rally at the Clay statue, 11, but the insurrection is checked by a notice from Gen. Emory, U. S. A., that he will interfere in case of a riot.

Congress passes a bill creating the Yellowstone Valley, in Montana and Wyoming Territories, a national park, 27 Feb.

The reduction of the public debt from 1 March, 1869, to 1 March, 1872, amounts to $363,697,000.

The National Liberal Republican Convention assembles in Cincinnati, O., 1 May; Hon. Carl Schurz is chosen permanent president; the platform calls for civil service reform, a judicious system of taxation, and the speedy resumption of specie payments; on the sixth ballot, Horace Greeley, of the *New York Tribune*, is nominated for President; Gov. B. Gratz Brown, of Mo., is elected candidate for Vice-President; the nomination of Mr. Greeley being deemed injudicious by many Republicans, the disaffected ones hold a meeting in New York, 30, and nominate William P. Groesbeck, of Ohio, for President, and Frederick L. Olmstead, of N. Y., for Vice-President.

James Gordon Bennett, founder and proprietor of the *New York Herald*, dies, 1 June, aged 77.

The regular National Republican Convention assembles in Philadelphia, 5 June; Hon. Thomas Settle, of N. C., is chosen permanent president; the platform insists on the most complete equality

in the enjoyment of civil, political, and public rights, and that Congress and the President have fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures to suppress the treasonable organizations in the lately rebellious States; President Grant is renominated by acclamation; and on the first ballot, Hon. Henry Wilson, of Mass. is elected candidate for Vice-President.

The Geneva Tribunal reassembles, 15 June; it holds its final session, 14 Sept., when its decision is rendered, awarding the U. S. $15,500,000 in liquidation of the Alabama claims and those arising from the depredations of other Anglo-Confederate vessels.

The National Democratic Convention is held in Baltimore, 6 July; Hon. James R. Doolittle, of Wis., is chosen permanent president; the convention adopts the Liberal Republican platform, and nominates Messrs. Greeley and Brown. The Extreme Democrats hold a convention in Louisville, Ky., 3 Sept., and nominate Charles O'Conor, of N. Y., for President, and John Quincy Adams, of Mass., for Vice-President; both candidates subsequently refuse to serve.

Hon. William H. Seward dies at Auburn, N. Y., 10 Oct., aged 70.

The Presidential election takes place, 5 Nov.; Grant and Wilson receive 3,592,984 popular and 300 electoral votes, and Greeley and Brown, 2,833,847 popular, equal to 74 electoral votes.

Gen. George G. Meade, the hero of Gettysburg, dies, 6 Nov., aged 56.

Boston is visited by a conflagration, 9 Nov., which burns over 60 acres of ground, and destroys property of an estimated value of $75,000,000.

Horace Greeley dies in a private insane retreat, 29 Nov., aged 61.

Edwin Forrest, the great tragedian, dies in Philadelphia, 12 Dec., aged 66.

1873. William M. Tweed is placed on trial on an

indictment for violation of duty in auditing fraudulent claims against the city of New York, 8 Jan.; the jury fails to agree, 30; a second trial opens, 13 Nov., and he is found guilty on 204 counts, 19; Judge Davis sentences him to 12 years imprisonment on Blackwell's Island and to pay a fine of $12,705.

Congress passes a bill to abolish the franking privilege, 22 Jan., to take effect 1 July.

An amendment to the appropriation bill, offered by Mr. B. F. Butler, providing that on and after 4 March, the President shall receive a salary of $50,000 per annum; the Vice-President, $10,000; the Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, $10,500; the Associate Justices, each, $10,000; the Cabinet Officers, each, $10,000; the Speaker of the House, $10,000: and the Senators, Representatives and Delegates, including those of the 42d Congress, each, $7500; besides the actual expense of travel from residence to Washington at the beginning and close of each session, is adopted in the House, 24 Feb. and the Senate, 1 March.

A political riot breaks out in New Orleans, 1 March, and the police and military fire upon the rioters in Jackson Square.

Gen. Grant is again inaugurated President, 4 March; he selects his secoud cabinet as follows: Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish; Secretary of the Treasury, William A. Richardson; Secretary of War, William W. Belknap; Secretary of the Navy, George M. Robeson; Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano; Postmaster-General, John A. J. Creswell; and Attorney-General, George H. Williams.

The White Star Steamer Atlantic strikes upon Marr's Rock, off Nova Scotia, at an early hour, 1 April, and becomes a total wreck; of the large number of passengers, officers, and crew on board at the time, 429 are saved and 547 lost.

During a peace talk in the lava beds of Oregon between a number of Modoc Chiefs and the U. S. Commissioners, 11 April, the Indians, under Captain Jack, suddenly attacked the Commissioners, kill Gen. E. R. S. Candy, U. S. A., and the Rev. Dr. Thomas (Commissioner), and seriously wound Commissioner Meacham; a military expedition is sent against the Indians and the leaders are captured; Captain Jack, Black Jim, Boston Charley, and Schonchin are hanged at Fort Klamath, Ore., 3 Oct.

Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase dies suddenly in New York, 7 May, aged 65; Congress holds funeral ceremonies over the remains in the Senate Chamber, 11.

Jay Cooke & Co., bankers of New York, fail, 18 Sep., with heavy liabilities; a financial panic is precipitated; the New York Clearing House is forced to suspend; the Secretary of the Treasury comes to the aid of the banks by purchasing government bonds; the presidents of all the banks meet in council to devise ways of relief. President Grant comes to the city, but declines to accede to the bankers' request to aid the banks with the Treasury balance of $44,000,000; runs are made on banks and private bankers, and many strong houses fall during the ensuing ten days.

The Evangelical Alliance of the World, on the invitation of the American branch, holds a session in New York, 1–12 Oct.; the distinguished foreign delegates are received by the President, 15.

The Cuban war-steamer Virginius, under command of Capt. James Fry, which left New York for Cuba, 8 Oct., is captured by the Spanish steamer Tornado, 31; the officers and 175 volunteers are taken to Santiago de Cuba, where Gen. W. A. C. Ryan, Bernabe Varona, Pedro Cespedes, and Jesus del Sel are tried, convicted, and shot

for piracy, 4 Nov.; Capt. Fry and 36 of the crew are shot, 7; 12 more suffer the same fate, 8; and 57, 10; the news of the capture produces great rejoicing in Havana and intense indignation in the U. S. The Government puts a strong naval force into commission, whereupon Spain agrees to surrender the Virginius and the remainder of her crew; this is done, 16 Dec., and while the vessel is being conveyed to New York, she suddenly sinks off North Carolina; the survivors are given a great reception by their compatriots upon their return.

The French steamship Ville du Havre, with a large passenger list from New York, collides with the British ship Loch Earn, 23 Nov., and sinking, carries down 226 persons.

Prof. Louis J. R. Agassiz, the eminent scientist, dies at Cambridge, Mass., 14 Dec., aged 67.

1874. Hon. Morrison R. Waite is appointed and confirmed Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, 21 Jan.

Ex-President Millard Fillmore dies at Buffalo, N. Y., 8 March, aged 74.

Hon. Charles Sumner dies at his residence in Washington, 11 March, aged 63, after enjoining Senator Hoar not to let the Civil Rights Bill fail; funeral ceremonies are held in the National Capital and at the State House, Boston.

Little Charley Ross is mysteriously abducted from his father's residence in Germantown, Penna., 1 July; his father spends a large fortune searching for the missing boy, but never learns of his fate.

An immense number of the citizens of New Orleans assemble around the Clay statue, 14 Sep.; a committee is appointed to request Gov. Kellogg to abdicate; upon his refusal, the White League troops are posted about the city, and the metropolitan police and the State troops are marched into line of battle; the White Leaguers

attack the police, driving them through the Custom House, in which Gov. Kellogg, Collector Casey, and other officers have taken refuge; on the following morning, the White League pickets find the Capitol abandoned and take possession. On orders from Washington, Gen. Emory, U. S. A., takes possession of all the captured property, and notifies Gov. Kellogg, 18, that he is prepared to restore him to his office.

John D. Lee, the leader of the Mormons in the Mountain Meadow massacre, in 1857, is captured, 1 Nov.; he is lodged in jail at Beaver, Utah, and indicted for murder.

Hon. Ezra Cornell, founder of Cornell University, at Ithaca, N. Y. (cost $700,000), dies, 9 Dec., aged 67.

James Lick, of San Francisco, deeds his immense estate to a board of trustees, and charges them to devote $700,000 to the erection of an observatory; $300,000 to found and endow the California School of Mechanical Arts; $250,000 to the erection of a group of bronze statuary, representing the history of the State; $100,000 to the building of an Old Ladies' Home in San Francisco; $150,000 to the building and maintenance of free baths; $150,000 to the erection of a bronze monument to Key, the author of the "Star Spangled Banner;" $25,000 in gold to the Protestant Orphan Home, San Francisco; $25,000 to found an Orphan Home in San Jose; and $10,000 to the purchase of scientific works for the Mechanics' Institute, San Francisco.

The national expenses for the year are $287,133,873; the debt is $2,251,690,468; the imports are $595,861,248; and the exports, $693,039,054.

1875. The State House at New Orleans is guarded by police early in the morning of 4 Jan., the day appointed for the opening of the Louisiana Legislature. The Democrats charge frauds upon the Returning Board, and the Republicans charge

intimidation upon the Democrats; Mr. Wiltz is chosen chairman, against the protests of the Republicans, who attempt to withdraw, but are prevented; in the afternoon, Gen. De Trobriand enters the House with U. S. troops, and Mr. Wiltz and several members, who claim to have been irregularly seated, are taken into custody and marched out of the Hall; the Democratic members then withdraw and the Republicans proceed to effect an organization; in the meantime, a second Congressional Committee, consisting of George F. Hoar, William A. Wheeler, William P. Frye, and Samuel P. Marshall, is sent to New Orleans, 2 Jan. Mr. Wheeler proposes a plan for adjusting the difficulties, to the effect that the Assembly will not disturb the State Government, but accord Gov. Kellogg all legitimate support, and that the House as constituted on the award of the committee shall not be changed; the plan is accepted, twelve members excluded by the Returning Board are admitted, a conservative Speaker is chosen, and both branches of the legislature proceed to work.

Samuel J. Tilden is inaugurated Governor of New York, and pledges himself to an administration of reform, Jan.

Senator Sherman's Bill, providing for the resumption of specie payments on 1 Jan., 1879, is passed in both Houses, and approved by the President, 14 Jan.

Ex-President Andrew Johnson is elected U. S. Senator from Tenn., Jan., and dies, 31 July, aged 67.

A civil suit is begun against William M. Tweed in New York, to recover $6,198,950, April; he is discharged from his cumulative sentence, 22 June, and immediately re-arrested and held to bail in $15,000 on a criminal suit and in $3,000,000 on the civil suit; he escapes from the officers of the Ludlow Street Jail, while on a visit to his house, 4 Dec.

Archbishop John McCloskey is invested with the berretta of a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, 27 April.

Hon. Henry Wilson, Vice-President of the U. S., dies at Washington, D. C., 22 Nov., aged 62; funeral services are held in the rotunda of the National Capitol and at Natick, Mass. Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, of Mich., President *pro tem.* of the Senate, becomes Acting Vice-President.

William B. Astor dies in New York, 24 Nov., aged 83.

Hon. M. C. Kerr, Democrat, is elected Speaker of the House at the epening of the 43d Congress, 6 Dec.

1876. The House of Representatives' Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, having had its attention directed to the alleged abuses in the management of the Post-tradership at Fort Sill, I. T., compels the attendance of Caleb P. Marsh, of New York, who had received the appointmeht in 1870; he acknowledges the regular payment of money to Gen. Belknap, the Secretary of War, in consideration of the appointment. The Committee summons the Secretary before it (1 March), when he confesses the truth of the statements; he personally tenders his resignation to the President, 2 March, and it is immediately accepted. The same day the Committee ask the House for his impeachment, and a committee is accordingly appointed and the Senate notified. The Secretary is arrested and released in $25,000 bail, 8 March; he was tried by the Senate on the House charges and his own confession, and acquitted by a vote of 35 to 21, 1 Aug.

The Centennial Exhibition in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, is officially opened, 10 May. Theodore Thomas's famous orchestra leads the ceremonies; Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist

Episcopal Church, offers a prayer; the President of the Board of Finance formally presents the buildings to the U. S. Centennial Commission, by whose President, after the singing of Sidney Lanier's Cantata, they are presented to the President of the U. S., who declares the exhibition opened. President Grant and the Emperor of Brazil then start the gigantic Corliss engine, and all the machinery in the vast place moves. The buildings cover a space of 75 acres, and aggregate 190 in number, including the five grand structures and the buildings of the States and Territories and foreign nations, representing a cost of $4,444,000, of which $1,500,000 were loaned by the U. S. Government. The Exhibition closes 10 Nov.; it has been visited by 9,786,151 persons, of whom 7,897,789 paid $3,761,607; the largest attendance on any day was on 28 Sept., when 274,919 persons passed the gates.

A determined warfare against the Sioux Indians is begun early in June; Gen. Crook attacks them on Rosebud River, 17; a camp of 2000 lodges on the Little Horn is attacked, 25, when Gen. Custer, his two brothers, a nephew, and brother-in-law, with 305 officers and men are killed. Gen. MacKenzie surrounds the camp of Red Cloud and Red Leaf, capturing the whole force without a shot, 23 Oct.; the next day, Gen. Crook assembles the Indians at the Red Cloud agency, deposes Red Cloud, and proclaims Spotted Tail chief of all the Sioux. Gen. MacKenzie captures a hostile Cheyenne village of 200 lodges, with 500 warriors, 25 Nov.

William Cullen Bryant is presented with a memorial vase of hammered silver, valued at $5000, by his friends, in New York, 20 June.

A. H. Wyman is nominated and confirmed as Secretary of the Treasury, 20, 29 June.

The Democratic National Convention meets in St. Louis, 28 June, and organizes by electing

Hon. John A. McClernand permanent president; Messrs. Samuel J. Tilden, N. Y.; Thomas F. Bayard, Del.; William S Allen, Ohio; Judge Joel Parker, N. J.; and Gen. W. S. Hancock, U. S. A., are proposed for the Presidential nomination; on the first ballot, Mr. Tilden receives 403 votes in a total of 817, and before the result of the second ballot is announced, his nomination is made unanimous. Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, is nominated for Vice-President.

William M. Tweed, after his escape from the officers in New York, goes to Cuba, and sails thence in the Carmen, for Vigo, Spain, 27 July; on entering the harbor of Vigo, the Carmen is boarded by the Governor, 6 Sep., and Tweed is arrested; the Spanish Government agrees to return him to the U. S. without the usual formalities, and he sails on the U. S. S. Franklin, then homeward bound, 26; he arrives in New York, 23 Nov., and is at once lodged in jail; in the meantime, Sheriff Brennan is punished for neglect in permitting the escape.

Colorado is admitted into the Union as a State, 4 July; John L. Routt, its first Territorial Governor, is elected first Governor of the State, Oct.

The Secretary of War, upon the order of the President, instructs Gen. Sherman to dispose of the available troops in such a manner as to prevent and punish fraud at the polls on election day, 15 Aug.

The President declares South Carolina to be in a state of insurrection, and orders troops sent there to preserve the peace at the elections, 17 Oct.

The State and National elections are the most exciting of any ever held. Federal troops are plentifully scattered throughout the Southern States, and strong forces are congregated in Washington, D. C. and in New York City. In South Carolina, Gen. Wade Hampton, Democrat,

and Daniel H. Chamberlain, Republican, are declared elected Governor, and both are sworn in as such; the State has a dual Legislature, with two speakers trying to preside at the same time, and the members of its Returning Board are arrested and committed to the Columbia jail. In Louisiana, both political parties invite prominent gentlemen of the North, and the President sends a committee to witness the counting of the votes by the Returning Board; while another Presidential Committee is appointed for a like service in Florida. The popular vote in the Presidential election, 7 Nov., according to the official returns, is: Tilden, 4,284,265; Hayes, 4,033,295; Cooper, 81,747; Smith, 9522; giving Mr. Tilden a popular majority over all others of 157,397 votes. The Returning Boards give Mr. Hayes 185 electoral votes, and Mr. Tilden 184; the votes of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, given to the Republicans, are disputed by the Democrats. The year closes on the greatest political tension ever known in the country, with the leaders of both parties urging forbearance.

Congress meets, 4 Dec.; Hon. Samuel J. Randall, Penna., is elected Speaker of the House over Hon. James G. Blaine; a number of bills proposing a more satisfactory method of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice-President are introduced in both Houses, but there is an aversion to action until the Visiting Committees return from the South and report.

During a performance of "The Two Orphans" in the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Theatre, 5 Dec., a fire breaks out on the stage; a terrific panic is created: the building is entirely destroyed, and over 300 persons lose their lives by burning, suffocation, or being crushed in the stampede; the remains of 100 unrecognized bodies are buried in one large grave in Greenwood Cemetery.

1877. Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt dies at his residence in New York, 4 Jan., aged 82.

Messrs. Nicholls (Dem.) and Packard (Rep.) are each inaugurated Governor of Louisiana, at New Orleans, 8 Jan.; the Democrats gain possession of all the public buildings except the State House, 9, and during that week the Democratic Legislature gains large accessions from the Republican body. In accordance with President Hayes's "Southern Policy," the U. S. troops are officially withdrawn from service in the city, 24 April.

Both parties in Congress compromise, in the matter of the disputed electoral returns, in an arrangement which takes shape in a bill providing for the appointment of an Electoral Commission, which decides in favor of the Republicans.

President Hayes appoints Frederick Douglass, the well-known colored orator, U. S. Marshal for the District of Columbia, 19 March.

John D. Lee, convicted for complicity in the Mountain Meadow messacre of emigrants by Mormons, is executed by shooting on the scene of the tragedy, 23 March.

After a conference with Gen. Wade Hampton and David H. Chamberlain, both claiming to have been legally elected Governor of South Carolina, the President orders the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Columbia, 2 April; the troops march out of the city, 10, and Mr. Chamberlain surrenders the Governor's office and the papers to General Hampton.

Gen. U. S. Grant, accompanied by his wife and one son, leaves Philadelphia for an extended tour 17 May. He is received with honor everywhere.

The business centre of Galveston, Texas, is destroyed by fire, 8 June, involving a loss of $1,525,000.

Right Rev. Bishop Littlejohn lays the cornerstone of the Cathedral of the Incarnation, a memorial of the late A. T. Stewart, at Garden City, L. I., 28 June.

In consequence of a reduction of 10 per cent in wages, the engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, switchmen, and other employes of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad go on a strike, 1 July; by the close of the week, the strike extends to the New York & Erie, the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago, the Pittsburg, Cincinnati & St. Louis, the Pan-Handle, and Pennsylvania Central Railroads. State troops are called out in Maryland, Ohio, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania, and Federal troops in West Virginia. Engagements between the strikers and their friends and the soldiers occur in Baltimore, 20, in which several persons are killed and a large number wounded, and at Martinsburg, West Va. In Pittsburg, Pa., the troops have encounters, 17 and 21; on the latter day, the strikers capture a car filled with coke, saturate the mass with petroleum, and igniting it, push the car to the Round House, which soon becomes a mass of flames with all its contents; between 200 and 300 lives are lost at Pittsburg, 125 locomotives are destroyed, and 3500 cars are burned. Bloody riots occur in Chicago, 25, 26, that of the second day being a pitched battle in which artillery is freely used. By the close of the second week, the strike extends to all the northern roads, and six States are under arms, the troops being used in protecting property and attempting to move trains. During the second week, the backbone of the strike is broken, and compromises between the railroad officials and the disaffected employes lead to a gradual reopening of traffic, the withdrawal of the troops, and the return of 84,000 railroad men to duty. The Pennsylvania Railroad suffered more severely than any other, its losses at Pittsburg alone aggregating $12,000,000, for which it subsequently sues the county.

Brigham Young, President of the Church of

Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, dies at Salt Lake City, Utah, 29 August, aged 76.

1878. Samuel Bowles, for many years editor and proprietor of the *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, dies, 16 Jan., after a lingering illness.

The U. S. Senate, after rejecting the free coinage clause and providing for a conference of the Latin Union States to fix a common ratio between the values of gold and silver, passes the Bland Silver Bill, 16 Feb.; the House concurs in the amendments, 21; the President vetoes the bill, and both Houses pass it over the veto.

William M. Tweed dies in Ludlow Street Jail, New York, 12 April.

A bill to repeal the bankrupt law passes the House, 25 April, by a vote of 206 to 39, and the Senate, 10 May, by a majority of 5; the bill takes effect, 1 Sept.

Thomas A. Edison, announces that he has at length discovered a method of dividing the electric current and its light indefinitely, and has perfected a practical system for lighting dwellings and public buildings by means of this current.

1879. The Hon. Morton McMichael, of Philadelphia, "father of Fairmount Park," and editor of the *North American*, dies, 6 Jan., aged 72.

A bill providing for the payment of arrears of pensions, having passed both Houses of Congress, is signed by the President, 25 Jan.; the lowest estimate of the amount required to pay all claims under it is $80,000,000.

A bill to restrict the immigration of Chinese to the U. S., by making it unlawful for the master of any vessel to bring to this country more than fifteen Chinese passengers, which has passed the House after a heated debate, is passed in the Senate, 15 Feb., by a vote of 39 to 27; the President vetoes the bill, 1 March, and Congress fails to pass it over the veto. During the debate in

the Senate, 14, Senator B. K. Bruce occupies the chair, being the first colored man who sat officially in the seat of the Vice-President of the U. S.

Congress meets in extra session, 18 March.

Gen. John A. Dix dies at his residence in New York, 21 April, aged 81.

Both Houses of Congress pass a bill prohibiting the use of federal troops on election days, May; the President vetoes it as conflicting with his constitutional prerogatives and as nullifying the laws of 1792; the bill fails to pass the veto.

Henry C. Carey, the foremost American political economist, dies at Philadelphia, 13 Oct., aged 86.

Maj.-Gen. Joseph Hooker, U. S. A., dies suddenly at Garden City, L. I., 32 Oct., aged 64.

Hon. Zachariah Chandler, U. S. Senator from Michigan, is found dead in bed in a hotel in Chicago, 1 Nov., aged 66.

1880. Contrary to general expectation, the Legislature of Maine is organized at Augusta, 7 Jan., without bloodshed, but not without scenes of great excitement. Gen. Chamberlain assumes control of all the public property and institutions, 9, promising to hold them for the people until Governor Garcelon's successor is legally elected and qualified.

The Republican National Convention meets in Chicago, 2 June; Senator George F. Hoar, of Mass., is chosen permanent president. The platform is adopted, 5, and the first ballot for a presidential candidate is taken, 7, with the following result: U. S. Grant, 304; James G. Blaine, 284; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 34; Elihu B. Washburne, 30; and William Windom, 10. The 36th and final ballot is taken, 8, when Gen. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, is nominated, he receiving 399 votes to 307 for Grant, 42 for Blaine, 3 for Sherman, and 5 for

Washburne. Gen. Chester A. Arthur, of New York, is nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

The Democratic National Convention assembles in Cincinnati, 22 June. The New York delegation present a letter from Samuel J. Tilden, positively declining to allow the use of his name in connection with the Presidential nomination. Hon. John W. Stevenson is elected permanent president, and the Tammany Hall delegation from New York are rejected. On the third ballot, 24, Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, U. S. A., is nominated for President, receiving 705 out of 738 votes, and Hon. William H. English, of Ind., is nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

The Presidential election takes place 2 Nov.; the returns show a popular Republican vote of 4,459,921; Democratic, 4,447,888; Greenback, 307,740; and Prohibition, 10,305; the electoral votes are: Republican, 214; Democratic, 155.

Postmaster-General James begins an investigation into the alleged "Star-Route" frauds in the conveyance of the mails, March. He issues an order forbidding any increase of service or compensation on any of the mail routes without his sanction, depriving his assistants of the power of granting increases at discretion. The publication of the manner in which the Star-Route service has been "expedited" creates a great sensation, Gen. Thomas J. Brady, Second Assistant Postmaster-General, under these exposures, resigns, 20 April; J. L. French, one of his clerks, is removed, 26; and Mr. McGrew, the Sixth Auditor of the Treasury Department, who has had charge of the Post Office accounts, resigns, 2 June; the prosecution of the Star-Route case is placed in the hands of the Attorney-General, who is assisted by W. A. Cook, of Washington, D. C., Benj. H. Brewster, of Philadelphia, and

(after the accession of President Arthur) George Bliss, of New York; the case is dismissed by Judge Cox, 10 Nov., on the ground that the proceeding by information cannot be sustained.

Prof. Henry Youle Hind, of Windsor, N. S., an authority on the subject of the Canadian fisheries, creates an excitement, April, by appealing to the British Foreign Office for permission to substantiate his charge of fraud and forgery preferred against the Canadian officials who prepared the Canadian statistics on which the Halifax Fishery Commission made the award of $5,500,000 against the U. S.

Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker, attempts to "remove" President Garfield by assassination, in the waiting-room of the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad Depot at Washington, D. C. As the President is about taking the cars to spend a few days with his sick wife at Long Branch, N. J., 2 July, Guiteau fires two shots at him, one of which takes effect; he is immediately arrested and lodged in the District Jail; and letters found in his pockets show that he has premeditated the murder of the President. The wounded President is removed to the White House, and several physicians and surgeons make an examination of his injuries and pronounce them liable to terminate fatally within a few hours. The intelligence produces consternation throughout the country, and all preparations for the celebration of the 4th of July are abandoned. The surgeons in attendance are: Drs. D. W. Bliss, J. K. Barnes, J. J. Woodward and Robert Reyburn, of Washington, D. C.; the chief nurse is Mrs. Dr. Edson, of the same city; and Drs. Hayes Agnew, of Philadelphia, and Frank H. Hamilton, of New York, are summoned as consulting surgeons. Amidst the prayers of Christendom for his recovery, the condition of the President improves and relapses by turns

until the close of August, when it is determined to remove him from the malarial influences of the national capital to the ocean-purified shore of Long Branch. A special train is prepared and the journey is made, 6 Sep., the distance being covered in about 7 hours, or at the rate of 55 miles per hour. He stands the transit well, and becomes cheerful when placed in a room in the Francklyn Cottage facing the ocean. While apparently recovering with rapidity, he is suddenly seized with chills, 16, which last until the morning of 19, when even the confident Bliss abandons hope; at 10 o'clock that night he awakens from a sound slumber, complains of a severe pain around his heart, and expires 10.35, after an 80-day struggle for life, in the 50th year of his age. The remains are taken from Long Branch, 21, and lie in state in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington until 23, when funeral services are held. They reach Cleveland, Ohio, 24, and lie in state in a memorial pavilion erected on Monument Square until 26, when public funeral ceremonies are held, and the body is temporarily placed in the receiving vault of Lake View Cemetery. A few moments after the death of the President, the members of the Cabinet at Long Branch notify Vice-President Arthur, in New York, of the event, and urge him to take the oath of office without delay; this oath is accordingly administered to him at his residence by Judge John R. Brady, between 2 and 3 o'clock on the morning of 20 Sep. The new President hastens to Washington and makes a call of condolence upon Mrs. Garfield. He issues a proclamation designating 26 Sep.—the day of the funeral—as a day of fasting and prayer throughout the country.

Guiteau, in his cell, attempts to murder one of his guards, William McGill, 7 Aug. He is fired at by one of his guards, Sergeant John

Mason, 13 Sep. He is indicted for murder, 7 Oct., and brought to trial before Judge Cox, 14 Nov., in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. The prosecution is conducted by U. S. District Attorney George B. Corkhill and George M. Scoville appears as counsel for the defense; the trial is continued during the remainder of the year, resulting in Guiteau's conviction.

Hon. Ambrose E. Burnside, soldier, Governor, and U. S. Senator, dies suddenly at Bristol, R. I., 13 Sep., aged 57.

1882. Congress passes an anti-Polygamy bill, drafted by Senator Edmunds, of Vt., 22 March, which provides for the punishment of polygamy by fine and imprisonment upon conviction, and also for the disfranchisement of polygamists.

Henry W. Longfellow, the world-popular poet and man of letters, dies at Cambridge, Mass., 24 March, aged 75.

Jesse James, the notorious desperado of the West, is killed by the Ford brothers, at St. Joseph, Mo., 3 April.

Guiteau, the assassin of President Garfield, is hanged at Washington, June 30.

Philadelphia celebrates the bicentennial of the Landing of William Penn, 22–27 Oct.

1883. Hon. Edwin D. Morgan, war Governor of New York, dies in New York City, 14 Feb., aged 72; his will bequeaths $795,000 to various charitable and educational institutions.

The Grand Jury of Washington, D. C., finds indictments against Gen. Brady and ex-Senator Kellogg, of La., for complicity in the Star-Route frauds, 27 March; the taking of evidence in the new trial closes, 12 April. The jury bring in a verdict of not guilty as indicted, 14.

The great suspension bridge, spanning the East

River from New York to Brooklyn, is formally opened, 24 May. Designed by John A. Roebling, C. E., work upon it was begun 3 Jan., 1870, and prosecuted, after the death of Mr. Roebling, under the direction of his son Washington A. Roebling, C. E. The total length from the City Hall, New York, to Sand Street, Brooklyn, is 5989 feet; the length of the main span is 1595½ ft., the towers are 276⅔ feet high, and the floor of the bridge at the centre is 135 feet above high-water mark; each cable is 15¾ inches in diameter and is composed of 5000 wires each one-eighth inch in diameter; the total cost is about $15,500,000, which is borne equally by the two cities.

At the close of the fiscal year, 30 June, there are 303,658 pensioners on the Government rolls, of whom 198,648 are army invalids, 74,374 army widows, minor children, and dependent relatives, 2468 navy invalids, 1907 navy widows, minor children, and dependent relatives, 4831 survivors of the war of 1812, and 21,336 widows of men who served in that war; the amount of all the pensions is $32,245,192.43; the total amount paid on pension account during the fiscal year was $60,064,009.23, nearly one-half of which was for arrears. The reduction in the interest-bearing debt during the year is $125,581,250, which secures a permanent annual reduction in the interest charge of $5,923,401; the annual charge on interest account is now $51,436,709, a reduction of $99,541,291 in 18 years, during which the principal of the debt has been reduced $1,205,340,364. The total coinage at the Philadelphia Mint during the year amounts to 80,691,282 pieces, valued at $21,483,759.

Dr. J. Marion Sims, the great surgeon and founder of the Women's Hospital in New York, dies, 13 Nov., aged 70.

1884. Cincinnati has a three days' reign of mob rule

and terror, (28–30 March); the trouble originates in the maladministration of justice, the particular case being the rendition by a jury of a verdict of manslaughter against William Berner in the face of the clearest evidence convicting him of the brutal murder of William Kirk. The mob first attack and fire the jail, and then burn and gut the Court-house in spite of the presence and bullets of the militia; 42 are killed, and 120 wounded.

May: Failure of James R. Keene, who is said to have lost a fortune of $4,000,000; in the following week, the Marine Bank, of which James D. Fish is president, fails with heavy liabilities; this causes the suspension of the firm of Grant & Ward, in which Gen. Grant is supposed to be a silent partner, almost immediately, with liabilities estimated at $8,000,000; and the Metropolitan Bank succumbs, (14). General Grant is induced to borrow $150,000 of William H. Vanderbilt, for one day, but the money is received too late to save the bankrupt firm. The General mortgages all his property to Mr. Vanderbilt, and is said to have lost his entire savings. A relief fund is at once started for his benefit, Mr. Vanderbilt generously offering to cancel the General's indebtedness to him for Mrs. Grant's benefit, but the General and his wife decline. Fish and Ward are subsequently arrested, and locked up in Ludlow Street jail.

The National Republican Convention is held at Chicago, convening 3 June; Blaine and Logan are nominated.

The Arctic relief squadron, consisting of the Bear, the Thetis, and the Alert, which sailed from New York in May under command of Commander W. S. Schley, U. S. N., to rescue Lieut. A. W. Greely, U. S. A., and the members of his scientific expedition to Lady Franklin Bay, find Lieut. Greely, Sergeant Brainard, Sergeant Fredericks,

Sergeant Long, Hospital-Steward Bieberbeck, and Private Connell alive near the mouth of Smith's Sound, 22 June; Sergeant Ellison is among the survivors, but he dies shortly after the rescue; all the rest of the party are dead. The relief squadron reaches Portsmouth harbor on the return, 1 Aug., where the Secretary of the Navy, with several war-vessels, is in waiting to greet the survivors.

The National Democratic Convention is held at Chicago, opening 8 July; Cleveland and Hendricks nominated.

The Presidential election is held 4 Nov., and results in the election of Messrs. Cleveland and Hendricks. The Democratic ticket receives 4,911,017 popular and 219 electoral votes

1885. A bill to place Gen. Grant on the retired list of the army is passed in the Senate, 14 Jan., but is lost in the House, 16 Feb.; the House passes the bill 4 March.

President Cleveland withdraws the Nicaragua Canal and Spanish reciprocity treaties from the Senate for further consideration, 12 March. He issues a proclamation, 13, warning all white settlers off the Oklahoma country, Indian Territory.

James D. Fish, president of the suspended Marine Bank, of New York, and secretly connected with the firm of Grant and Ward, is found guilty on charges of misappropriation of funds, 11 April, and is sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, at hard labor, at Sing Sing, N. Y., 22 June.

Ferdinand Ward is indicted; he pleads not guilty, 5; is tried, convicted, and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment at hard labor, at Sing Sing, N. Y., 1 Nov.

A diplomatic understanding is effected between the U. S. State Department and the British Minister at Washington for the extension of the privileges secured by the fishery clause of the

treaty of Washington throughout the season now opened, official notice of which is given, 25 June.

Gen. U. S. Grant, ex-President of the U. S., dies at Mt. McGregor, N. Y., 23 July, aged 63.

The first session of the 49th Congress is opened, 7 Dec.; Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio, is elected president *pro tem* of the Senate, and Hon. John G. Carlisle, of Ky., Speaker of the House.

Senator Hoar's Presidential Succession Bill is passed by the Senate, 17 Dec.

Congress votes a pension of $5000 per annum to the widow of ex-President Grant, 18 Dec.

Prof. John C. Draper, of New York, dies, 20 Dec.

1886. Senator Hoar's Presidential Succession Bill is passed in the House by a vote of 183 to 77, 15 Jan., and is approved by the President, 19.

1886. The House passes a bill to increase the pensions of widows and dependent survivors of Union soldiers from $8 to $12 per month, 1 Feb.

Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, U. S. A. commanding the Military Department of the Atlantic, and one of the most striking figures in the civil war on the Union side, dies on Governor's Island, New York, 9 Feb., aged 62.

Hon. Horatio Seymour, ex-Governor of New York, dies at Utica, 12 Feb., aged 75.

John B. Gough, the famous temperance orator, dies at Frankfort, Penna., while on a lecturing tour, 17 Feb., aged 68.

The U. S. Senate passes a bill appropriating $25,000 for a monument to ex-President Grant, to be erected in Washington, 23 Feb.

President Cleveland sends a message to the Senate, 1 March, forcibly stating his views as to the right of that body to demand from the Executive the various papers considered by him in connection with removals from office, claiming that all such information is of a strictly confidential character, to be used only for the benefit

of the country as an aid to the Executive in discharging his duty in the matter of appointments and removals. The Senate, under the lead of Senator Edmunds, decides by a majority of 1, that it has the right to call for all such documents.

The U. S. Senate passes the Blair Educational Bill, which provides for an appropriation of $79,000,000 to be distributed among the States on the basis of the illiteracy of persons over 10 years of age, except in the cases of the white and colored schools, where it is to be distributed on the basis of illiterate persons of school age, 5 March.

A general order is issued, taking effect 6 March, directing the Knights of Labor to boycott the Gould Railroad System in the southwest; as a result fatal conflicts between the striking railroad men, on the one side, and county officials and State militia, on the other, occur at Fort Worth, Texas, 1 April, and East St. Louis, 9. Boycotting is resorted to very generally throughout the U. S. during March and April, the Knights of Labor ordering the majority of workingmen to strike for increased wages, shorter hours, or both.

An eight-hour demonstration is made by 40,000 workingmen in Chicago, 1 May; the anarchists parade the streets with red flags, indulge in incendiary language, and, precipitating a riot, explode a dynamite bomb, with fatal effects, in the midst of the police. The mob is repressed, 15, and a number of the most violent anarchists are arrested, and charged with the murder of the police officers, and with inciting to riot.

Hon. Grover Cleveland, President of the U. S., is married to Miss Frances Folsom, by the Rev. Dr. Byron G. Sunderland, in the Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., 2 June.

Most Rev. James Gibbons, Roman Catholic

Archbishop of Baltimore and Primate of the Church in the U. S., is created a Cardinal in the consistory of 17 June, and is solemnly invested with the berretta in his cathedral, 30.

Samuel J. Tilden, ex-Governor of New York, and Democratic candidate for President in 1876, dies at Greystone, his country seat on the Hudson, near Yonkers, N. Y., 4 August, aged 72.

The amount paid by the U. S. Government for pensions during the year ending 30 June is $63,797,831, to 365,783 pensioners.

Eight of the Chicago anarchists are found guilty of murder (20 Aug.); 7 are sentenced to be hanged, and one to be imprisoned for life.

An earthquake shock is felt throughout a large part of the U. S., east of the Mississippi (about 10 p. m., 31 Aug.). It is particularly severe at Charleston, S. C., where many buildings are destroyed and sixty-one persons are killed. Other shocks take place during September and October; a large part of the city is destroyed, millions of damage being done, and thousands of people rendered homeless. Subscriptions for their relief are taken up all through the United States.

Geronimo and a number of Apaches surrender (4 Sep.) to Gen. Miles, in Skeleton Canyon, Arizona, and are imprisoned at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Fla.

Bartholdi's statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," on Bedloe's Island, N. Y. Harbor, is formally unveiled with imposing ceremonies, including a grand naval parade and a procession on land (28 Oct.).

Chester Alan Arthur, Ex-President of the U. S., dies at N. Y. City (18 Nov.), aged 56.

Gen. John Alex. Logan, G. A. R., senator from Illinois, dies at Washington, D. C., (26 Dec.). aged 60.

1887. The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher dies in Brooklyn (8 Mar.), of apoplexy, aged 73.

1888. Election of the Republican candidates, Benjamin Harrison, President and Levi P. Morton, Vice-President.

1889. May 31. The Johnstown Flood, caused by the breaking of a reservoir embankment during a severe freshet. An avalanche of water, half a mile in width and nearly forty feet in height, swept through the Conemaugh Valley, Pennsylvania, at the rate of two miles and a half in a minute, and $10,000,000 of property was destroyed, and the loss of life was variously estimated from 2280 to 5000 persons, mostly women and children.

1890. McKinley bill passed, followed by a Democratic tidal wave.

The Sioux Indians of the Northwest become restive, and believe that a Messiah is coming to restore the Indians to control of their ancient domains. In December an attempt to disarm the Indians at Wounded Knee resulted in a battle in which two hundred were killed, including many Indian women and children.

1891. Serious dispute with Chili owing to an attack on United States seamen by a mob at Valparaiso. Chili hesitates to give redress, whereupon the American fleet is ordered to prepare for an emergency. Chili finally makes apology and offers indemnity.

1892. The Presidential campaign, with Harrison and Cleveland again opposed to each other on the tariff issue.

Serious riots occur at Homestead, Pennsylvania, over a dispute as to terms of employment between the Carnegie Company and its workingmen. The operatives quit work, and upon an attempt being made to land a number of strangers as alleged deputy sheriffs a battle ensues in which a number were killed and wounded. The militia are ordered out, and martial law proclaimed at Homestead. Order is at length restored. During the excitement an anarchist from the vicinity of New

York who had no connection with the strikers, attempted to assassinate Mr. Frick, chairman of the Carnegie Company, in his office, and wounded him, but not fatally.

October. The World's Columbian Exposition dedicated at Chicago, but not opened until the following year.

November. Election of Cleveland and Stevenson, and another Democratic tidal wave.

1893. Revolution in Hawaii, the Queen overthrown and a Provisional Government established, which at once proceeds to negotiate for annexation to the United States. A treaty to that effect is submitted to the Senate by President Harrison.

President Cleveland recalls the Hawaiian treaty, but his object in doing so does not become public until November. He sends the Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia, as Commissioner to Hawaii.

Repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act at special session of Congress.

President Cleveland makes an effort to secure the withdrawal from power of President Dole and the remainder of the Hawaiian Provisional Government and the restoration of the deposed Queen, Liliuokalani, otherwise known as "Mrs. Dominis," on the ground that the Queen's deposition had been brought about through wrongful interference on the part of former United States Minister Stevens. The Provisional Government refuses to surrender, and prepares to defend itself by force, if necessary. Thereupon President Cleveland adopts a less positive attitude, and the controversy gradually ceases. The Hawaiian policy of the President was warmly debated in the Senate and House. In the House the President was ostensibly indorsed; in the Senate the President was not condemned, but a decided stand was taken in favor of American control over Hawaii and therefore in sympathy with the Provisional Government.

The World's Columbian Exposition was opened in May of this year. All civilized and semi-civilized nations of the earth participated. The Exposition grounds on the lake front covered more than a square mile, and contained numerous huge buildings, whose perfect proportions, classic architecture, and artistic arrangement made the White City famous throughout the world. The total cost of the Exposition was in excess of $31,000,000, and during the six months of its continuance the turnstiles recorded more than 21,000,000 paid admissions.

1894. A source of much hardship had been the law, passed as an experiment some years ago, preventing soldiers in the United States army from reenlisting after ten years' service, as it resulted in driving worthy and valuable men out of the service. This law was therefore repealed; and, in its place, it was enacted that:

"Hereafter all enlistments in the army shall be for the term of three years, and no soldier shall be again enlisted in the army whose service during his last preceding term of enlistment has not been honest and faithful; and in time of peace no person (except an Indian) who is not a citizen of the United States, or who has not made legal declaration of his intention to become a citizen of the United States, or who cannot speak, read, and write the English language, or who is over thirty years of age, shall be enlisted for the first enlistment in the army."

The struggle over the Wilson Tariff Bill occupied the time of Congress.

During the latter part of August, forest fires broke out in portions of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, culminating, September 1, in the partial or entire destruction of a number of towns. The loss of life was estimated at 650, and the loss of property at $12,000,000, exclusive of standing timber destroyed. The thrilling and

heartrending incidents of this vast and widespread calamity would furnish ample material for an entire volume. In a stretch of territory in Minnesota, twenty-six miles long and fifteen wide, not a single human habitation was left standing. The smoke from the fires rendered navigation dangerous on all the great lakes except Lake Ontario.

The most destructive forest fires previous to those above named, in the history of the country, occurred, the first in October, 1871, in Wisconsin and Michigan, when 2000 persons perished in the flames, and inestimable financial damage was entailed; the second in September, 1881, in Michigan, when 300 lives were lost, together with an immense amount of property.

A large district in Texas, west of San Antonio, was, late in October, swept by a flood, resulting in the drowning of several hundred persons, together with immense destruction of property. Half the houses in the town of Uvalde were swept away; the town of D'hanis was completely submerged; and thousands of cattle and horses perished. The weight of damage rests upon the Southern Pacific Railroad, estimated at $1,200,000.

November. The Republicans swept the North, electing Levi P. Morton Governor of New York, and carrying nearly every State in which elections were held. The victory is supposed to have been due chiefly to the depressing effect of tariff uncertainty on business, and in New York in a large degree to the revelations of municipal corruption before the Lexow Investigating Committee.

1895. The leading event of American interest has been the uprising of Cuban republicans against the Spanish Government. Spain, doubtless, with a view of propitiating the United States, has paid the long-pending Mora claim for damage

to the property of an American citizen. Sentiment throughout the United States, is strongly favorable to Cuba.

In New York City much agitation has been caused by the enforcement of the law requiring saloons to be closed on Sunday.

November. The Republicans carry nearly all the States in which elections are held, including Kentucky and Maryland.

THE END.

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